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ALEXANDER NOWELL, D.D.

Dean of S.t Paul's.

Ob. 13. Feb. 1601/2

An. Æt. 95.

PISCATOR *HOMINUM.*

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THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER NOWELL,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,

CHIEFLY COMPILED FROM

REGISTERS, LETTERS, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC EVIDENCES.

BY

RALPH CHURTON, M. A.

RECTOR OF MIDDLETON CHENEY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
ARCHDEACON OF ST. DAVID'S, AND LATE FELLOW OF BRASEN NOSE COLLEGE.

SUCH PERSONS WHO SERVED GOD BY HOLY LIVING, INDUSTRIOUS PREACHING, AND RELIGIOUS DYING, OUGHT TO HAVE THEIR NAMES PRESERVED IN HONOUR, AND THEIR HOLY DOCTRINES AND LIVES PUBLISHED AND IMITATED.

JER. TAYLOR.

OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS FOR THE AUTHOR:

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND,

THE

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

MY DEAR LORD,

IN requeſting Your favourable acceptance and patronage of the following pages, there is one circumſtance, which encourages me to hope, that they may not prove altogether unintereſting to Your Lordſhip. The delineation of the life of Dean Nowell, famed for his Three Catechiſms, and perhaps alſo the compiler of our Church Catechiſm, neceſſarily includes a ſketch of the hiſtory of Catechiſms; a mode

of inſtruction, of which Inſpiration itſelf ſeems to have afforded the firſt hint or outline; and which, after various learned labours in the ſervice of Literature, has been adopted by Your Lordſhip in the cauſe of religion.

But whatever want of intereſt, or other defects, may be found in this attempt to do juſtice to the character of the laſt ſurviving Father of the Engliſh Reformation, I ſhall ever rejoice in the opportunity, thus given me, publicly to acknowledge Your Lordſhip's peculiar and unmerited goodneſs to the author, in collating him, in the kindeſt manner and totally unſolicited, to the archdeaconry of St. David's; a ſtation endeared to the inquirer into our national antiqui-

ties, as having been held by the celebrated Giraldus Cambrenſis, to whoſe Itinerary, recently edited with unrivaled ſplendor, poſterity is indebted for one of the earlieſt authentic accounts of the Principality of Wales.

With trueſt ſentiments of reſpect and gratitude, for paſt favours and conſtant kindneſs, I am ever, my dear Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt obliged and faithful

humble ſervant,

R. CHURTON.

Middleton, near Banbury,
Feb. 13, 1809.

K. Charlton.

Lord,

PREFACE.

THE Author of the Fairy Queen, diffident of his own merits, dedicates his labours to Queen Elizabeth, "to live with the eternity of her fame." Of this never-dying fame one of the brighteſt parts was the wiſdom ſhe ſhewed in encircling her throne with a conſtellation of ſage and virtuous Counſellors; fortifying the State and repleniſhing the Church with ſuch men as Burghley, Bacon, Egerton, Smith, and Cooke; Parker and Grindal, Cox, Aylmer, Sandys, and Jewell.

Of theſe illuſtrious Stateſmen and diſtinguiſhed Prelates, whoſe lives have, moſt of them, been deſcribed at large by no incompetent hands, I preſume not to ſpeak, further than to pay them a paſſing tribute of reſpect, when the tranſactions, in which they were engaged, require their names to be mentioned. In the Dean of St. Paul's I have ſelected one, who though he did not ſtand in the forefront and head of affairs, was a conſtant friend and counſellor to moſt of the oſtenſible agents

and directors of public buſineſs; and from the laſt years of Henry VIII. till the cloſe of the reign of Elizabeth, was not only an attentive obſerver of the ſwiftly changing ſcenes, but bore an efficient part in the progreſſive ſteps of the Reformation, and final eſtabliſhment of the Church of England. A portion of time abounding with events of equal magnitude and intereſt can ſcarcely be found in the whole compaſs of our annals: near a century has elapſed ſince the period has been reviewed and exhibited, as combined with the lives of any of the great actors in this ſacred drama; and the life of Nowell, one of the beſt mirrors to diſcern the true ſpirit and temper of the age and character of the Reformation, never has been diſplayed in that full and diſtinct light, which his various merits juſtly demand, and which exiſting materials, eſpecially if they had been collected and arranged before the irreparable loſs of the ancient documents and papers of the family [a], might readily have ſupplied.

The common epitomes of the life of Nowell, diſperſed in various collections of biography, are little more than tranſcripts or tranſ-

[a] See p. 383. n. [n].

lations of the Latin epitaph, inſcribed on his monument in St. Paul's; and, what is more to be lamented, where attempts have been made to fill up the outline there given, the additions have reſted on no good authority, and often prove, on examination, to be totally erroneous. Better hopes were conceived from what appeared to be a plain reference in the margin of Fuller's Church Hiſtory: "D. Lupton in his Life." No repoſitory, however, public or private, was found to contain the book; nor was any friend, within the compaſs of my inquiries, able to inform me whether any ſuch work exiſted. In a bookſeller's ſhop at Coventry I had the good fortune, after many years of fruitleſs ſearch, to obtain the firſt clue to the diſcovery of what I ſought for. A copy of the Common Places of Wolfgangus Muſculus, tranſlated by John Man, Warden of Merton college, with an Admonition to the Reader, by the pen (as is ſuppoſed) of archbiſhop Parker, contained a note in the hand of a former proprietor of the book, pointing to "A neat Effigies of this venerable Divine and Proteſtant Reformer, in a ſmall duodecimo volume, called "The Hiſtory of the modern Proteſtant Divines, printed at London by J. Okes, 1637,

publiſhed by Donald Lupton." It required no great ſagacity now to conjecture, what Hope, that "ſweet and firm companion" inſtantly embraced as certain, that Dean Nowell was one of theſe Proteſtant worthies, and this the book, which Fuller quoted. Still however the book itſelf could no where be traced; till at laſt I was fortunate enough to hear of a copy in the poſſeſſion of John Bohun Smith, Eſquire, of Warwick; which he very obligingly favoured me with the uſe of; and a copy (robbed indeed of moſt of the heads, and otherwiſe mutilated) was afterwards kindly given me by the Rev. Mr. Brand, late Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, who, I believe, had a perfect copy himſelf.

Mr. Smith's copy had belonged to the former owner of Muſculus, Joſeph Greene, M. A. late Rector of Welford and of Miſerden in Glouceſterſhire, a collector of old and ſcarce books, partly for himſelf, and partly for his learned neighbour, James Weſt, Eſquire, of Alſcot (near Stratford on Avon) in that county; who, as Mr. Greene informs us, had a copy of this book, curiouſly bound in red Morocco, with a broad gold border, and gilt leaves, which he purchaſed out of the famous

collection of the Earl of Oxford, at a public ſale. Whether the book ſtill remains in Mr. Weſt's family (for it does not appear to have been ſold with his other books [b]) or in what hands it may now be lodged, I have not learnt; nor have heard of any other copy, but of one given to the Britiſh Muſeum by Sir William Muſgrave, which had once belonged to Mr. Oldys, the hiſtorian [c].

Of a book ſo extremely rare, thus connected with Nowell, a ſhort account may not be unacceptable. It conſiſts of 364 pages, ſmall octavo, and contains forty five lives, twenty two of foreigners, twenty three Engliſh [d], with heads of each, and an emblematical frontiſpiece, of three compartments; in

[b] It has at leaſt been ſearched for in vain in the *Bibliotheca Weſtiana* (conſiſting of 4653 articles) which was ſold by auction in March and April, 1773.

[c] Mr. Beloe's Anecd. of Literature, 1807. vol. i. p. 188.

[d] The "Out-landiſh Writers" are Berengarius, Huſs, Jerome of Prague, Eraſmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Paulus Fagius, Bucer, Hyperius, Muſculus, Calvin, Auguſtine Marlorat, P. Martyr, Zanchy, Chemnitius, Aretius Benedictus, Bullinger, Rodolph Gualter, Beza, and Fran. Junius. The Engliſh Writers are Wiclif, Bale, Colet, Tindall, Bradford, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Edwyn Sandys, Nowell, Jewell, Parker, Fox, Grindal, Laur. Humphrey, Gervaſe Babington, Thomas Holland, the archbiſhops Abbot and Whitgift, Thomas Becon, James Montagu, Perkins, and Whitaker.

the centre a female figure ſeated on a throne, on her head a radiated crown, on her breaſt "Sion," or the Church. On the dexter ſide, an elderly man (Lupton himſelf, as Mr. Granger thinks) ſitting in an elbow chair, a pen in his hand, and a book before him; beneath, a ſhip ſtruggling with the waves: on the ſiniſter, a phenix (typical of the reſurrection) and a ſhip in harbour; with appropriate mottos.

Lupton, who was the author of ſeveral other curious works[e], which are now ſcarce, aſpires to no higher praiſe in this performance, than that of having faithfully tranſlated the Lives out of Latin; but does not acquaint his Reader where the originals are to be found. They are not, as Mr. Greene thought, in Melchior Adamus; but are all contained, with others, the Engliſh (with the exception only of Wiclif) in the Heroologia of Henry Hol-

[e] Mr. Beloe (ut ſupra) mentions his "Emblems of Rarities, or choice Obſervations out of Worthy Hiſtories." London, by N. Okes, 1636. and "London and the Countrey carbonadoed and quartered into ſeveral Characters." London, by Nichols, 1632. Mr. Granger mentions his Lives of the Fathers, 1640, 4°. with heads engraved by G. Glover, vol. i. 8vo. p. 41. And ſee vol. ii. p. 181. Donald Lupton, M. A. (the ſame perſon, I preſume) was preſented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Vicarage of Sudbury, Middleſex, May 27, 1663, which was void by his death before May 1, 1676. Newcourt, i. 744.

land; and the foreigners in Verheiden, who has alſo a Life of Wiclif, Cranmer, and Bale. "The effigies," Lupton ſays, meaning thoſe in Verheiden, "were taken to the life," ſome by Albert Durer, "and the others by that famous Henry Hondius; only I deſired to have them done in leſſer plates, for the benefit of the buyer." The Engliſh heads are copied, on the ſame reduced ſcale, from the neat and genuine portraits in the Heroologia, which were engraved by Criſpin Paſs and his ſiſter Magdalen [f].

The life of Nowell in this choice little volume, which had ſo long been the object of anxious curioſity, was found, on inſpection, to be of ſuch a nature as rather to increaſe, than ſatisfy, my wiſhes. It was not exempt from common miſtakes; and though enlarged from the Latin (as the others alſo are occaſionally compreſſed or expanded) furniſhed nothing new, beyond a ſingle, but intereſting, anecdote. Veneration therefore for the memory of one, whoſe munificence I had ſo long participated as a member of Braſen Noſe College, and reſpect for the Society, to which, in life and in death, he was ſo great an orna-

[f] Granger, i. p. 139. 314.

ment and benefactor, prompted me to try whether the materials, which I had already incidentally amaſſed in a courſe of years, while I was in purſuit of another object, might be ſo far enlarged, as to furniſh, in a ſuccinct volume, a more juſt and accurate account, than the friends and admirers of the good Dean of St. Paul's had hitherto been obliged to accept. The reſult of this experiment is now, with all deference, laid before the Public; and to the narrative itſelf I would at once gladly ſend the Reader, but that two or three preliminary circumſtances, which it ſeems an indiſpenſable point of duty in me to mention, will not, I truſt, be deemed an unpardonable treſpaſs on his patience.

To acknowledge with gratitude favours received is a taſk as pleaſing as it is neceſſary; and the frankneſs of communication and obliging aſſiſtance, which I have experienced, on this as on former occaſions, from individuals eminent in rank and diſtinguiſhed by learning, as well as from Societies of higheſt reſpectability, will be matter of moſt gratifying reflection to me as long as I live. I would call this the Humanity of letters, did I not hope, that it has a more ſacred and auguſt origin, and flows without noiſe

from a heart repleniſhed daily with the perennial dew of heaven.

To the Right Reverend the Dean, and to the Right Reverend and Reverend the Reſidentiaries of St. Paul's, my beſt thanks are due for permiſſion to examine, without reſtriction, the ancient Records and Muniments of the Chapter; and I am much obliged to their intelligent Regiſtrar, Mr. Hodgſon, for affording me every facility in the free and frequent uſe of the favour ſo liberally granted. From theſe authentic documents many facts and dates have been aſcertained, reſpecting the immediate object of my inquiries; and I have alſo been enabled, from theſe and other ſources, to bring forward ſome circumſtances in the hiſtory of St. Paul's, connected with my ſubject, which, if not altogether new, are not however generally known.

A writer, quoted more than once in the following pages, calls London "a light to the reſt of England;" and in contemplating the Deans of St. Paul's, when we behold in that ſtation Colet, Nowell, Overall, Donne, Sancroft, Stillingfleet, Tillotſon, Sherlock, Secker, and Newton (for I will not intrude upon living merit) we ſee a phalanx of learned men, an aſſemblage of pious and exemplary

Divines, ſuch as no other church in the kingdom can parallel. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that the biſhops of London and archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, from proximity of ſituation, may alſo be regarded as luminaries in the London hemiſphere, have generally maintained the ſame pre-eminence, in reſpect of other Engliſh prelates, whoſe dioceſes lie at a greater diſtance from the metropolis.

But I muſt not deviate from Nowell; nor forget one, whoſe family has, in more than a ſingle inſtance, been connected with the Nowells. Richard Heber, Eſquire, once my pupil, and always my friend, has kindly contributed an engraving of the Dean's uterine brother, John Towneley, Eſquire, and favoured me with the ſight of many rare books from his large and highly curious collection; and ſupplied many uſeful hints from his own well-informed and generous mind.

Biography, which looks back into times at all remote, is neceſſarily connected with patents and charters; and, in ſearching for theſe treaſures, my wiſhes have been always met by John Kipling, Eſquire, of Overſtone, Northamptonſhire, Clerk of the Rolls, with an alacrity and zeal, which the moſt intimate friendſhip could not ſurpaſs. It is honourable,

when thoſe, whoſe ſtores are inexhauſtible, and who in conſequence are open to frequent ſolicitation, give without ſparing.

The Britiſh Muſeum is an inſtitution, which reflects the higheſt honour on a great and affluent nation. The Burghley Manuſcripts, which have lately been repoſited there by the well-judged munificence of Parliament, though culled by the indefatigable Strype and by others, ſtill afford a rich harveſt to the antiquary and biographer. The new letters of Nowell in that collection (for ſome of them have already appeared in the volumes of Strype) are certainly among the moſt valuable of his remains; and there are a dozen letters or more by his nephew Whitaker, addreſſed, as moſt of Nowell's are, to Lord Burghley, the common friend and patron of both, which have never, I believe, been noticed in print.

In the extenſive Library of my excellent friend and neighbour, John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamſcot, abounding particularly with books of Engliſh antiquities, fraught with innumerable references and notes (chiefly by the hand of his incomparable father, the late John Loveday, Eſquire, of Caverſham) and in the quick mind, exact judgement, and

retentive memory of the worthy Proprietor, I find a ready anſwer to every queſtion, a ſatisfactory ſolution of every difficulty or doubt, which might obſtruct or retard my progreſs.

But the pains, which, for a number of years, have been beſtowed in collecting ſcattered notices of the good Dean of St. Paul's (if indeed the endeavour to inveſtigate departed merit "labor potius quam voluptas appellanda ſit") would be amply compenſated, had they procured me no other remuneration, but the friendſhip and correſpondence of the Hiſtorian, now, by the judicious ſelection of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Vicar, of Whalley, in Lancaſhire. Deſcended from a ſiſter of Dean Nowell, and inheriting, from the eldeſt offspring of that match, the manſion where the Dean's favourite nephew, the celebrated Profeſſor of Cambridge was born, Dr. Whitaker feels a lively curioſity and intereſt in whatever relates to his two illuſtrious kinſmen; while, by his own habits of ſtudy, and excurſive reſearches into the antiquities of the neighbourhood, he is eminently qualified to elucidate the hiſtory of thoſe who have adorned it. He was ſo obliging as to look over

theſe papers, when the greater part of them, as yet unaccompanied with notes, was otherwiſe in ſome forwardneſs for the preſs; and there is ſcarcely a page, which has not been corrected by his ſtrictures, improved by his judgement, or enriched by his ample communications.

How ſhall I mention, and yet how can I forbear to mention, One, who, for almoſt half a century, has been the encourager and patron of every literary undertaking, the exemplar, father, and friend of antiquaries? Till he had paſſed the age of man, Mr. Gough poſſeſſed an underſtanding, which in vigour and extent of powers was equaled by very few; and in activity and exertion left all competition far behind. Having honoured me with his notice, our acquaintance was gradually matured into friendſhip; and, during ſeveral years of ſweet remembrance, ſcarcely a week paſſed without a letter from Enfield, and ſcarcely a letter came without ſome hint or alluſion to Nowell. He peruſed my papers, and, with the partiality of a friend, wiſhed to ſee them in print; and he may perhaps ſee them, but if he does, there is too much reaſon to fear it may be "*Ipſe ſui ſuperſtes!*" We do not inherit a

frame of adamant; and it is no cauſe of ſurpriſe, but of infinite regret, if frequent and numberleſs epileptic ſeizures have clouded one of the brighteſt gems, that ever was lodged in a mortal caſket. It has been my lot, through the mercy of heaven, to witneſs ſome of the cloſing days of ſome of the beſt men, that ever added luſtre to the Engliſh name; but never was I more deeply affected, than in one of my lateſt viſits at Enfield. A life of humble, but ardent, unoſtentatious piety and charity is not unrewarded. The harbingers of diſſolution had already alarmed every one, excepting him only to whom their errand was. It was truly delightful, and yet pierced the inmoſt ſoul, to ſee with what ſteady compoſure and cheerfulneſs he diſcourſed of an event, which he regarded as near at hand, and longed for its approach; and, when I left him, he ſaid with as much pleaſantneſs, as if he was diſmiſſing me to my apartment for the night, "*Remember my laſt dying words!*"

Theſe have been the principal ſources of intelligence, and theſe are ſome of the invaluable Friends, to whom the Reader owes whatever he may find of entertainment or information (if indeed he finds any thing of

either) in the following memoirs. It only remains to beſpeak, if I might, his favourable indulgence towards the author, who has arranged the materials, and laid them together. But here what ſhall I ſay? No one ever forgives a fooliſh book; yet whatever faults or imperfections may be found in the volume, which is now, not without ſolicitude, ſent into the world, it may tend, I hope, to propitiate or to diſarm the ſeverity of criticiſm, when it is known, that the whole was written and reviſed, not in retirement, which the Muſes love, not in the ſhade of Academic bowers, but amidſt the conſtant and arduous, though pleaſing duties, of a populous pariſh and large family.

P. S. March 10. The ingenuous Reader will pardon me, I truſt, if in the foregoing preface, the reviſal of which has been delayed by neceſſary avocations and deep ſorrow, I neither cancel nor alter what was written, however feebly, with truth and affection, while two of the kindeſt and beſt of friends were living. But alas! what is life! Three days after the preceding pages were

ſent to the preſs, I received information, that on Monday evening, February 20, it pleaſed God to releaſe Mr. Gough from his great ſufferings; and on the morning of Saturday, March 4, Dr. Loveday, in full vigour at the age of 66, ſunk under a painleſs malady of only eight days! Each fell aſleep without a pang or a ſtruggle. Each left inſtructions to be interred in the cemetery of the church, which they conſtantly frequented; Dr. Loveday at Cropredy, near Banbury, Oxon; Mr. Gough at Wormley, Herts, and the following epitaph, written by himſelf five or ſix years ago, and containing matter that might fill a volume, to be inſcribed in the church.

Hunc prope parietem
Reliquias ſuas condi voluit
RICARDUS GOUGH,
antiqua ſtirpe ortus;
ex heroibus qui in bellis Gallicis et
civilibus claruere
gloriam,
ex mercatoribus Stapulæ Caleſiæ Indiæque orientalis divitias,
deduxit:
Patriæ amorem, erga Reges fidem,
Legum Antiquitatumque patriæ peritiam,
ex atavis conſanguineiſque derivatam,
conſtanter coluit;
Haſce inveſtigandi cupiditatis innatæ
teſtimonia habeto
Topographiam Britannicam,
Gulielmi Camdeni Britanniam renovatam,
Monumenta Sepulchralia Magnæ Britanniæ.
Abi, Lector, nec vanitatis inſimules.
Obiit xx die menſis Februarii, A. D. MDCCCIX.
Ætat. LXXIV.

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APPENDIX

THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER NOWELL.

SECTION I.

THE name and family of Nowell, of one of whom, the venerable Dean of St. Paul's, I purpoſe to give a faithful account, are thought to have been of Norman origin. The word, Nowell or Noel, a corruption of Natalis, indicates the feſtival of our Lord's Nativity, and likewiſe a cry of joy appropriate to the ſeaſon; and, by degrees, came to ſignify a convivial cry in general; in which ſenſe it appears to have been in uſe as late as the days of Chaucer [a]. Of the occaſion, on which the name was aſſumed, or impoſed perhaps on ſome one eminent for his feſtive talents, there is no tradition; but whe-

[a] "And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine.
Beforn him ſtant braune of the tuſked ſwine,
And *nowel* crieth every luſty man." Canterb. Tales, 11567.
where ſee Mr. Tyrwhitt's note.

ther the Chriſtmas cry, or the Chriſtmas cup, like the waſſail bowl (*et calices poſcit majores*) were the diſtinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumſtance; and, as heraldry delights in ſuch devices or parodies, three ſimilar cups, in the eſcutcheon of Butler [b], unqueſtionably allude to the name and office of a butler, or cupbearer.

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy; and from that illuſtrious family, afterwards earls of Lincoln, the ſubject of theſe memoirs was, through his grandmother Townley, lineally deſcended; but the firſt who appears in the records of their Lancaſhire territories was Robert Noell, who is the laſt ſubſcribing witneſs but one, to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia, to Geoffry ſon of Robert, dean of Whalley. This was in the year 1200. About forty years after this period two brothers, Adam and William, obtained their firſt ſettlement in Blackburnſhire [c]; the former by marrying the heireſs of Stephen de Magna Merlay, the latter by a grant of Little Merlay

[b] Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 1002. Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford, by Gutch, p. 328. 340. App. 242.

[c] So Camden and others call the hundred of Blackburn.

from John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln [d]. The Dean of St. Paul's was a deſcendant of the former branch, when they had added to their patrimony the neighbouring manor of Read, and fixed their reſidence there, in the pariſh of Whalley and county of Lancaſter.

His father, John Nowell, eſquire, was twice married. By his firſt wife, Dowſabel, daughter of Robert Heſketh, eſquire, of Rufford in Lancaſhire, he had an only ſon, Roger Nowell; whoſe iſſue male, in a direct line, enjoyed the family eſtates for more than two centuries. By his ſecond wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Kay of Rachdale, he had four ſons, Alexander, Laurence, Robert, and Nicholas, and ſeveral daughters. In the reign of Henry VII. he obtained leave of the crown to impark his eſtate at Read [e]; and, in later life, gave a rentcharge in truſt, to endow a chantry in the pariſh church of Whalley, and in the neighbouring church of Burnley [f]; a deſign, which, owing perhaps to the mutability of the times, ſeems not to have been carried into effect; but he who projected the pious deed, we may preſume, did not neglect to impreſs the in-

[d] Hiſt. of Whalley by T. D. Whitaker, LL. D. 1800. p. 143.
[e] Ibid. p. 248.
[f] Ibid. 249.

fant minds of his children with congenial principles, to which Providence afterwards gave a better direction.

His ſon Alexander, born in 1507 or 1508, was ſo named, as appears by the pedigree[g], after ſeveral of his kindred of earlier days; but the frequency of the name, among the Nowells in later times, is aſcribed to juſt affection for the memory of the meritorious Dean of St. Paul's, rather than to reſpect for their more remote anceſtors. Read hall, the place of his birth, anciently Rivehead or Riverhead, was pleaſantly ſituated on the Calder, a tributary branch of the Ribble; and is ſaid to have been "an extremely convenient and handſome old houſe[h]." The annexed view of the ſouth front ſhews the hoſpitable manſion, as it was ſtanding fifty years ago; in which the weſt end, with the double gable, is thought to have been as old as the early part of the reign of queen Elizabeth; but the eaſt end, of which the ground floor was the chapel, appears to have been of later conſtruction.

The author of the life of Whitaker, the

[g] Appendix, No. i.

[h] Hiſt. Whalley, p. 247. And ſee Camd. Epp. London, 1691. p. 39.

READ HALL,

as it appeared A.D. 1750.



Engraved by J.s Basire.

To ALEXANDER NOWELL, ESQ.RE *of Underley Hall, Westmoreland,*
this View of READ, *the seat of his Ancestors for more than three centuries,*
is with sincere respect inscribed by his much obliged humble Servant,
R. Churton.

Published for Mess.rs Rivington, Feb.y 13.th 1809.

celebrated Profeſſor of Cambridge, regards the mountainous diſtrict of his birth, which was in the ſame pariſh of Whalley, where Nowell was born, as propitious to genius (agreeably to a remark of Cicero) on account of the rare and ſubtle element, which the inhabitants of ſuch elevated ſituations reſpire[i]: and certainly, whatever were the cauſe, it was, at this period, "native to famous wits;" for, beſides the eminent author now mentioned, who was nephew to Nowell, his two brothers, Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, and Robert, Attorney of the Court of Wards,

[i] Life by Abdias Aſsheton, publiſhed with Whitaker's Prælections at Cambridge, 1599. Ames by Herbert, p. 1427. in Whitaker's Works, 1610. tom. i. 698. and by Melchior Adam in his Decades duæ, 1653. p. 163. The paſſage alluded to in Cicero is De Nat. Deor. ii. xv. Aſsheton was fellow of St. John's college, of which Whitaker was Maſter, afterwards Rector of Middleton, in Lancaſhire, where upon his death (which happened June 29, 1618) he was ſucceeded by his ſon of both his names, rector of Sladeburn, Com. York. Dr. Whitaker, Nov. 18, 1807, from an original journal of the Aſsheton family. And ſee Hiſt. Craven, p. 26. He alſo informs me (Feb. 9, 1808.) that the ſaid Abdias Aſsheton, while reſident in St. John's, was engaged, together with Gataker (firſt of St. John's, then fellow of Sidney) and Bedell of Emmanuel (afterwards the moſt learned biſhop of Kilmore) in the pious and laudable work of preaching every Sunday in the adjacent country churches, where the people were in want of able miniſters. See Biogr. Brit. We ſhall have occaſion again to refer to the Life of Whitaker.

were highly diſtinguiſhed by their talents and learning, as the following pages will occaſionally ſhew.

He was educated at Middleton [k], about ſix miles from Mancheſter; but who was his preceptor there, we have not learnt. That his elementary progreſs was rapid, we may reaſonably preſume, as he was deemed ripe for the univerſity, where however early entrances were then more frequent, at the age of thirteen; and reſpecting this number a ſingular coincidence is mentioned, whether it were the reſult of choice, or of accident. He became a member of Braſen Noſe college at the age of thirteen; he reſided there thirteen years; and he afterwards beſtowed on the ſociety thirteen ſcholarſhips.

He is ſaid to have been chamber-fellow with Fox, the martyrologiſt [l]; and had perhaps the ſame tutor, Mr. John Hawarden or Harding, who was afterwards Principal of the college, to whom Fox dedicated a learned work upon the Euchariſt [m]. We are aſſured, that he was a public reader of logic in the

[k] So he himſelf informs us in a letter, which will hereafter be quoted.

[l] Tanner and Biogr. Brit. art. Fox.

[m] De Sacram. Euchariſt. Lond. 1563.

univerſity, and taught the famous book of Rodolphus Agricola, which was ſhortly afterwards enjoined at Cambridge by Henry VIII. [n] when he was in the twentieth year of his age [o]; which, if the other accounts of his academical life are accurate, is not a little remarkable; for, by thoſe accounts, he was ſtill an undergraduate. There is a myſtery in the affair, which the ſcanty or imperfect regiſters of the time do not enable us to unravel. It was not uncommon, in the early days of the college, for a bachelor of arts to poſtpone his ſecond degree, in hopes of obtaining a fellowſhip, to which a maſter of arts was then deemed ineligible; of which we have an inſtance in the famous Robert Bolton, born at Brook-houſe near Blackburn in 1572, who ſtudied ten years in Lincoln and in Braſen Noſe, and was thirty years of age, before he was choſen fellow of the latter ſociety, and was then preſently admitted to the degree of Maſter of arts [p]. But Nowell, whatever might

[n] Fuller's Hiſt. Camb. p. 112. From the uſe of "Rodolph's Logic" (as the book was called) the Topic Lecture in Braſen Noſe obtained the name of the Rodolph Lecture, which was not quite forgotten in the laſt century. Agricola is mentioned in Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 267.

[o] Strype's Ann. i. 206.

[p] Ath. Oxon. i. 560. F. 163. and his Life, 1633. by Edward

be the reaſon, deferred his firſt degree, till he was of ten or twelve years ſtanding; and then, having been admitted Bachelor of arts, May 29, 1536 [q], and elected fellow of the college ſhortly afterwards, proceeded to the degree of Maſter of arts, with the delay of a ſingle year only, June 10, 1540 [r].

To the ſervice of God in his church he had directed his intent, ever ſince he was ſixteen years old [s]; but it is not known when or by whom he was admitted into holy orders. He was a party by the ſtyle of Alexander Nowell, Gentleman, in the marriage ſettlement of his ſiſter Elizabeth Nowell with Thomas Whitaker, ſon and heir apparent of Richard Whita-

Bagſhaw, who was his pupil in Braſen Noſe, afterwards a Bencher of the Middle Temple, and eminent in the profeſſion of the law. Ath. Oxon. ii. 315. and Bridges' Northampt. ii. 87. in the account of Broughton, of which Bolton was Rector. An original portrait of him on board (once belonging to the family) a ſtriking reſemblance of the engraving in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, is now (September, 1808.) the property of Dr. Whitaker. His Life is alſo in Morton's Monument of the Fathers and Reformers, 1706. 8vo. p. 66. with a head, better than many in the collection, but neither excellent, nor very like Fuller's plate, which is alſo prefixed to ſome of Bolton's Works. Fuller calls Bagſhaw his "good "friend." Ch. Hiſt. B. xi.

[q] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 57.

[r] Ibid. 63.

[s] Strype's Annals, i. p. 206.

ker of Holme, in 1529-30[t]; which ſeems to diſprove the aſſertion in his epitaph, that he died a "nonagenarian" in 1601-2. For had he been no more than ninety at that time, he would not have been of age at the time of his ſiſter's marriage; nor conſequently, we may preſume, have been enfeoffed with her jointure. The inſcription therefore on his picture in Braſen Noſe college more probably ſtates the truth, that he died in the ninety fifth year of his age; which makes him twenty one and upwards before his ſiſter married. But perhaps the unknown compiler of the epitaph meant to reckon only by decads, and would ſtyle him a nonagenarian in any year between ninety and a hundred.

When he quitted the Univerſity, we find him in a conſpicuous ſituation in the metropolis, as Maſter of Weſtminſter School; where that excellent topographer, William Harriſon, was, as he modeſtly ſays of himſelf, "ſometime an unprofitable grammarian under him[u]."

[t] From the original indenture, dated 3d Feb. 21 H. VIII. in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. D. of Holme, the learned Hiſtorian of Whalley and Craven, who is deſcended from this match.

[u] Holinſhed, vol. i. p. 151. 2d ed. 1587. Ath. Oxon. i. 234.

This renowned ſeminary claims Henry VIII. as its founder; and Nowell was the ſecond maſter on the new foundation, appointed in 1543, with the approbation, no doubt, if not by the particular choice of the king, whoſe merit as a patron and judge of literature is undiſputed. He ſucceeded John Adams, of whom the name only is known, and was followed in 1555 by Nicholas Udall [x], famous, like Buſby in later days, for erudition and flogging. While he filled this important poſt, he is ſaid to have been diligent in teaching his pupils pure language and true religion; uſing for the former purpoſe Terence [y], and for the latter St. Luke's Goſpel and the Acts of the Apoſtles, in the original Greek. At the funeral of that lamented and peerleſs prince, Edward VI. the prebendaries and other members of Weſtminſter abbey, where he was interred, as well as the great officers of ſtate and others,

[x] See liſt of Weſtm. Scholars. He had before been Maſter of Eton. See Tanner and Ath. Oxon. i. 88. Aſcham ſpeaks of him as the beſt teacher and "the greateſt beater" of his time. Works by Bennet, p. 192. where the well known lines of Tuſſer, who had been educated under him at Eton, are quoted.

[y] Strype's Ann. i. 206. To this probably Pound, one of the diſputants on Campion's ſide, alluded, when he ſaid, "We know "you to be a good *Terence* man." True Report of the Conference, Signat. F iiii. a. penes me.

had an aſſignment of cloth for mourning; and, whether it were to gratify a national fondneſs for dreſs, or whatever might be the reaſon, it is memorable, that Belmayne, the French teacher, had more than double the quantity, which was allotted to the more honourable preceptor in the claſſics [z].

He had now been a preacher for ſome years, having been licenſed thereto by the King, about the year 1550; but where he exerciſed his talent, we are not particularly informed; except that he preached, during this reign, "in ſome of the notableſt places and auditories in the realm." For ſo he himſelf ſays, in anſwer to a ſcoffing ſlander of Dorman; who, notwithſtanding he "did right well know" this fact, was not aſhamed to ſay of him, fifteen years afterwards, that "of a mean ſchoolmaſter he was ſuddenly become a valiant preacher [a]."

And here, having mentioned him as a ſchoolmaſter in London, at the head of the chief ſeminary in the kingdom, we muſt turn,

[z] "The Frenche Skoolemaſter" had 9 yards, the other only 4. See the account of the Funeral by Sir Edw. Waldegrave, Archæol. xii. 389.

[a] Confut. of Dorman, p. 22. Strype's Parker, p. 202. Annals i. 206. Memor. iii. 477. The patent of Edw. VI. licenſing him to preach has not been found.

for a moment, to his brother Laurence Nowell, following at the ſame time the ſame honourable and uſeful employment in the country. He was ordained deacon on the ninth of November, 1550, by that excellent and learned prelate, biſhop Ridley; and is deſcribed in the epiſcopal regiſter [b], as reſiding at Sutton Colfield, in the county of Warwick; where he was Maſter of the Grammar School, founded in 1543, by John Harman or Veyſey, biſhop of Exeter, who was born in that town, and dying there at the extreme age of one hundred and three, was buried under a fair monument, with his effigies mitred and veſted for the altar, in the church of Sutton, to which, as well as to the town, he was a great benefactor [c]. The ſchool was conferred on Laurence Nowell, October 1, 1546, on the death or ceſſion of John Savage, the firſt maſter; but he was not ſuffered to continue long in quiet poſſeſſion of it; for articles of complaint were exhibited againſt him by the corporation, as patrons of the ſchool, in the court of chancery, upon a pretence of neglect of duty; though the real ground of offence appears to have been his

[b] Extr. Epiſc. Reg. Ridley, in the Library of Ric. Gough, Eſq.

[c] See Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 913. &c. The biſhop's effigies and other monuments of the family are engraved, p. 917.

zeal for the reformation; and therefore, on appeal to the King in council, he juſtified his character and conduct ſo well, that letters were iſſued to the Warden and Fellows of the King's town of Sutton, not to remove him from his place of ſchoolmaſter, nor to give him any further moleſtation, or diſturbance [d].

Martin Bucer, a man of mild counſel and deep learning, who was invited into England by archbiſhop Cranmer, and for a while had graced both our univerſities, died at Cambridge, February 28, 1551. Parker, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, preached at his funeral [e], which was attended by the whole univerſity; and the next day, verſes in honour of the deceaſed, by Redmayne, Maſter of Trinity college, by Cheke, Haddon, and others, were affixed on the walls of the univerſity church. Nowell was one of thoſe, who on this occaſion paid a tribute of reſpect to the memory

[d] Kennet's L. of Somner, p. 62. Letter to the Warden &c. Feb. 28, 4th Edw. VI. (1549–50.) Reg. of Council Edw. VI. and ſee and correct Dugd. Warw. p. 670. (and ed. Thomas, ut ſupra) where it is ſaid, he reſigned 1 Edw. VI.

[e] The ſermon was publiſhed; Ames by Herbert, p. 727. It was alſo tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed at Straſburgh, 1561. Strype's Grindal, p. 201. Bucer was preceptor at Cambridge to Henry Duke of Suffolk and his brother, who preſented to him "vaccam et vitulum." Humphr. Vita Juelli, 1573. p. 26.

of this great reformer, in two copies of Latin verſes; but as he was not reſident in Cambridge, the lines did not perhaps publicly appear, till they were inſerted, with many others, in a volume of Bucer's works, intitled Scripta Anglicana, publiſhed at Baſil in 1577. In the firſt of theſe copies he ſays, "Bucer was known to Germany and to Britain by the ſanctity of his life and eloquence of his tongue, and known to the world by his learned writings; but when he had been known to Cambridge ſcarcely an entire year, he was there interred, at once the honour and the regret of the place." In the other he conſoles himſelf with the idea, that "Bucer is not extinct, ſince his fame lives, and his writings live, and he himſelf lives to the world and to God."

Nowell appears to greater advantage, as a claſſical ſcholar, in proſe, than in verſe; nor indeed did the brighteſt wits and moſt admired Latiniſts of Edward's days, Haddon, Aſcham, and Cheke, attain to that eaſe and elegance of verſification, which ſeveral others, in many reſpects inferior to them, afterwards acquired; but, as theſe verſes of Nowell, if they were compoſed, as is probable, at the time of Bucer's death, are, though not a very

early, yet the firſt production of his pen, which we have met with, it ſeemed not improper to give the ſubſtance of them here, and the lines themſelves in the appendix [f].

John Redmayne or Redman, one of the writers in praiſe of Bucer, who was nominated Maſter of Trinity college in the charter of foundation, 1546, was one of the firſt prebendaries of Weſtminſter, on the diſſolution of the monaſtery. He was related to Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and, by the encouragement of that learned prelate, was from his infancy devoted to literature; which he cultivated firſt in Corpus Chriſti college, Oxford, under the firſt Preſident, John Claymond, a man of ſingular erudition and generoſity. From Oxford Redman went for a time to ſtudy in Paris [g], and then fixed himſelf in St. John's college, Cambridge; coming thither ſo adorned with the knowledge of Cicero and the pureſt authors of antiquity, that Cheke, then a young man there, was fired with emulation; and in a ſhort time, through their united pains and example, that ſeminary acquired the fame of being more than a match for a whole

[f] No. ii.

[g] Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 197.

foreign univerſity [h]. Redman applied his matured judgement and learning, with equal piety and patience, for the ſpace of twenty years, to the ſtudy of the Scriptures and the early writers of the church, intending to compoſe a work on the ſubject of tranſubſtantiation. The reſult of his inquiries was ſuch as might be expected, that there was no foundation whatſoever for that abſurd dogma, either in Scripture, or in the primitive fathers. He therefore relinquiſhed this and other errors of the Romiſh creed, and "with conſtant judgement and unfeigned conſcience deſcended into that manner of belief," which he held, when he aſſiſted in compiling the firſt Liturgy of Edward VI. which was publiſhed in 1549.

We ſhould readily conclude, if we had not been expreſsly aſſured, that a perſon of ſuch "excellent learning and purity of life" would be "highly favoured" and eſteemed by Nowell, himſelf adorned with learning, and "earneſtly bent to the true worſhiping of God." He therefore waited upon Redman in his laſt illneſs, deſirous to know what was his opinion and belief concerning the "troublous contro-

[h] Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, f. 20. b. ed. 1570. Works by Bennet, p. 241.

verſies of thoſe days;" profeſſing himſelf willing to "receive and approve his words as oracles ſent from heaven." The dying confeſſor, poſſeſſing a "quiet mind and perfect remembrance," took a day or two to conſider of the matters propounded to him by Nowell; and then ſent for him, declaring himſelf ready to converſe with him on thoſe points, and to anſwer truly as he thought, to whatever queſtion ſhould be aſked him, as in the preſence of God.

The particular articles, fourteen in number, twelve of them atteſted by Nowell and others, need not be repeated. The ſum of them was, that purgatory, the ſacrifice of the maſs, and tranſubſtantiation were groundleſs and ungodly; that we are juſtified, not by our works, but by lively faith, which reſts in our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; that good works "are not deſtitute of their rewards; yet nevertheleſs they do not merit the kingdom of heaven," which is "the gift of God[i]."

Dr. Wilkes, Maſter of Chriſt's college, Cam-

[i] Fox's Martyrology, ed. 1583. vol. ii. p. 1360—1364. a letter by Redman to Latimer, ib. p. 1736. And ſee the Life of Redman in Lives of the Compilers of the Liturgy, by Downes, prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale, p. CXLIV. Ath. Oxon. i. 80. Davies' Athenæ Brit. p. 80.

bridge, and Dr. Young of Trinity college in that univerſity, were preſent at this conference; of which an account was given by Young, in a Latin epiſtle, to their common friend Cheke. Redman ſurvived this affecting and inſtructive interview, which was in the beginning of November, 1551, not many days; for on the 27th of that month a preſentation was granted by the crown to Alexander Nowell, Maſter of the King's ſchool in Weſtminſter, conferring on him the canonry in that church, vacant by the death of John Redmayne[k]; and he was accordingly inſtalled on the fifth of December following[l].

In the firſt parliament of queen Mary, which met at Weſtminſter on Thurſday, October 5, 1553, Nowell was returned one of the Burgeſſes for Loo in Cornwall; but a committee being appointed, including Secretary Bourne and Story, men famous afterwards in the perſecutions of this reign, to inquire into the validity of the return, they reported to the Houſe, that "Alexander Nowell being a prebendary of Weſtminſter, and thereby having a voice in the Convocation houſe, cannot be

[k] Rex &c. Alex. Nowell preceptori Scole noſtre Weſtm. T. R. ap. Weſtm. 27 Nov. 5 Ed. VI. p. 3. Rolls Chapel.

[l] Le Neve, p. 366.

a member of this houſe;" and a new writ was directed to be iſſued accordingly [m].

In this report of the Houſe there ſeems to have been ſomething inaccurate at leaſt, if not directly contrary to fact. As prebendary of Weſtminſter Nowell had no "voice in the Convocation;" for none below the dignity of Deans and Archdeacons were bound to perſonal appearance there; the reſt of the clergy appearing only by their proxies, every chapter chooſing one, and the clergy of each dioceſe two, to repreſent them [n]. Theſe however were not times for thoſe who were deſirous of retaining peace and a good conſcience, to inſiſt rigidly on their right, againſt the prevailing party; and Nowell withdrew quietly from the honour, of which it is not likely that he was ever very ambitious.

In this retreat from parliament there was perhaps no immediate perſonal danger. His eſcape out of England was not effected without imminent hazard; as we have the ac-

[m] Journals, vol. i. p. 27. where Newell is a miſtake for Nowell, as appears by Willis's Notitia, vol. ii. p. 92. ed. 1716.

[n] See a Writ de Parl. tenend. Clauſ. 24 Edw. I. m. 7. dorſ. (1296) in Prynne's Reg. of Parl. vol. i. Part i. p. 6. notis MSS. in the Library of William Bray, Eſq. of Great Ruſſell Street. See alſo Gent. Mag. 1802. p. 641.

count, though leſs circumſtantial than might be wiſhed, from the quaint pen of Thomas Fuller, in his Worthies of Lancaſhire. It happened that he was fiſhing upon the Thames, an exerciſe wherein he much delighted; and while he was intent upon catching fiſh, Bonner, underſtanding who he was, was intent upon catching him; in which he had ſucceeded, and had ſent him to the ſhambles, had not Francis Bowyer, at that time a merchant, afterwards Sheriff of London, ſafely conveyed him beyond the ſeas.

SECTION II.

THESE were days, to which we look back with mingled emotions of grief and admiration. We lament that the moſt learned and beſt men in the kingdom were driven into exile, or ſeized and impriſoned, by the perſecuting ſpirit of popery; but we venerate the patient magnanimity of the oppreſſed, and confide in the truth, which, like the faith of the firſt ages, was cemented with the blood of martyrs, and conquered by ſuffering.

The exiles, in number about eight hundred, were diſperſed in various parts of Germany and Switzerland; but Straſburgh and Frankford were the chief places of their reſort. From Straſburgh in 1554, Thomas Becon, who had been chaplain to the protector Somerſet, author of the Pomander of prayer [P], a

[P] There is a beautiful copy of this very rare book in the Library of the late Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet, at Arbury, by Day, 1578. with a wood cut of the author, æt. 41. a border of flowers and heads of Apoſtles &c. on each page; with this motto (Ecclus. xxiv. 15.) "Pleaſantly do I ſmell, as it were Cinamone, and ſweete Balme." Black letter; by the ſignatures it ſeems to be 8vo. but ſmaller than 12mo. There had been earlier editions of this work; for Wharton's Dream in this ſame year 1578 (a

book of great repute in its time, and of other learned works, addreſſed an Epiſtle to the Faithful in England [q], exhorting them to patient perſeverance in the truth. There was at Straſburgh a college of Engliſh, who had a common table, and devoted themſelves to the purſuit of literature, with great harmony and

book hereafter to be noticed) in the addreſs to the Reader, complaining of the uſe of improper books, ſays, "They wil have their Palace of Pleaſure, the wanton Epiſtles of Ovid,—the bowget of Merry Demaundes;—fewe or none will have maiſter Beacon's ſweete Pomander to ſmell unto." The name and uſe of a Pomander, or perfumed ball (ſometimes perhaps incloſed in a ſilver caſe, as we find a pomander among plate, Coates's Reading, p. 222.) as a preſervative againſt infections, ſeem to have been familiar as late as the reign of James I. For in 1610, the plague being at Oxford, George Radcliffe (afterwards Sir George) couſin to Samuel Radcliffe (Principal of Braſen Noſe college, 1614) deſcended from Maud Nowell, Dean Nowell's aunt, wrote from Oxford, that his tutor, who was alſo his couſin, Charles Greenwood, the great benefactor to Univerſity college, "had ſent him out of town, if he had deſired it, and made him a *Pomander*." Dr. Whitaker, July 28, 1807, from the original letter, with many others by the ſame hand, in the poſſeſſion of Richard Henry Beaumont, eſquire, of Whitley Beaumont, Yorkſhire, ſometime of Braſen-Noſe college, a gentleman whoſe various learning and eminent ſkill in the antiquities of his country are the leaſt part of his merit.

[q] Straſburgh, Auguſt, 1554. Ames, p. 1577. Richard Heber, Eſq. The author had been in priſon from Aug. 16, 1553, till the 22d of March following, and tranſlated the 103d pſalm, printed at the end of the volume, as a thankſgiving for his deliverance. His life, with a head, and a liſt of his works in three volumes, is in Lupton's Modern Proteſtant Divines, 1637, p. 330.

great ardour. Jewell was here, and Nowell was here, and Poinet biſhop of Rocheſter (afterwards of Wincheſter) and Grindal and Sandys, afterwards ſucceſſively archbiſhops of York; nor did the learned laymen, Sir John Cheke, Sir Richard Moriſon, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Thomas Wroth, and others, diſdain to hear Peter Martyr expounding Ariſtotle's ethics and the book of Judges [r]. In the following year (May 6, 1555.) Grindal, then at Frankford, wrote a letter to biſhop Ridley, to whom he had been chaplain, informing him there were well nigh an hundred ſtudents and miniſters on that ſide the ſea, and giving an account of ſome of them [s]. The letter was a cordial to the pious prelate in his impriſonment; and he ſays, in his anſwer, "I enſure you it warmed my hart, to hear you by chaunce to name ſome, as Scory and Coxe, and others. And, Syr, ſeing you ſaye that there be in thoſe parties with you of ſtudents and miniſters ſo good a number, now therfore care you not for us, otherwyſe than to wiſhe that Gods glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call

[r] Humphr. Vit. Juel. 1573. p. 86—88.

[s] Letters of Martyrs, by Day, 1564. p. 50. Strype's Mem. iii. 245.

us home (as we loke daily for none other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſaye, Come) ye, bleſſed be God, are enoughe through his aid, to light and ſet up again the lanterne of his word in England [t]."

When the expected ſummons was given, he had two requeſts only to make to the Queen; that the tenants of his ſee might be permitted to enjoy the benefit of their leaſes, or that the fines might be paid back out of his plate and effects [u]; and that a poor ſifter, who had come to him out of the north, with three fatherleſs children, for her relief, now put out of what he had provided for her, might be mercifully conſidered.

"Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late mine own colledge!—In thy orcharde (the walls, buttes and trees, if they could ſpeak, would beare me witneſſe) I learned without booke almoſt all Paules Epiſtles, yea and I weene all the canonical Epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalipſe. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweete ſmell thereof, I truſte (ſays the dying

[t] Letters, ut ſupra, p. 52.

[u] Ibid. p. 38. There was afterwards a notable law ſuit about theſe leaſes, and a bill was brought into parliament to make them void, but it did not paſs. Strype's Memor. iii. 58.

martyr) I ſhall carry with me into heaven: for the profite thereof I thinke I have felte in all my life [x]!"

Such was this great reformer of our church in the days of Edward the ſixth. But we are chiefly concerned with one of a congenial ſpirit and equal learning, who lived to bear a part in the reformation achieved in the reign of Elizabeth.

Scarcely any earthly good is unalloyed with evil. The retirement and ſuffering and ſtudy, which prepared the exiles to adorn and defend the church of England on their return in better days, did not in the mean time produce entire concord and unanimity among themſelves. Whittingham and Sutton, and a few more, the firſt that fixed themſelves at Frankford, were no ſooner come thither, than they ſhewed themſelves willing to lay aſide the very face and appearance of an Engliſh church. On the night of their arrival [y], Valeran Pullan, miniſter of the French exiles, waited upon them at their lodging, and informed them, that he had obtained a church there in the name of all ſuch as ſhould come out of England for the goſpel, wiſhing them

[x] Letters, ut ſupra, p. 92.

[y] June 27, 1554. Troubles at Frankford, 1642. p. 1, &c.

to join his congregation. But as this, becauſe few of them underſtood the language (for no other objection was made) would be of ſmall advantage, they preſented a requeſt to the magiſtrates of the town, that they might be permitted to have the uſe of ſome place, where they might have the word and ſacraments miniſtered in their own native tongue. It was ordered therefore [z], in compliance with their wiſhes, that the ſame church, which had hitherto been allowed to the French, ſhould now ſerve them and the Engliſh alternately; but with this injunction, that they ſhould not diſſent from the French in doctrine or ceremonies; willing them further, before they entered their church, to ſubſcribe the ſame confeſſion of faith; which they all accordingly did.

Their next care was to frame a liturgy, or order of ſervice; but this they diſpatched within a fortnight; for they did little elſe but cancel largely. The interlocutories between the miniſter and people, the litany, and the ſurplice, and many other things were caſt aſide. The general confeſſion was altered for "one of more effect," and ſuited to their

[z] July 14. ib. p. 2.

preſent ſtate. Inſtead of the pſalms and leſſons for the day [a], with the intervening hymns, they had "a pſalm in metre in a plain tune;" and this done, the preacher went at once into the pulpit, and, after praying for aſſiſtance of God's Spirit, proceeded to the ſermon. Next followed "a general prayer for all eſtates, and for our country of England," with the Lord's Prayer; then the rehearſal of the articles of faith, and another pſalm; and then laſtly they were diſmiſſed with the peace of God. This was the meagre and diſorderly form, which they endeavoured to impoſe on all the Engliſh abroad, and afterwards to obtrude on the whole church of England.

They wrote a circular letter [b] to the exiles at Straſburgh, at Zurick, at Embden and other places, inviting them to Frankford, where "God's providence had procured them a

[a] Ib. p. 3. Heylin, Reform. p. 228. ſays they had the pſalms and leſſons; but I can diſcover no trace of them at this time. In their new Diſcipline, afterwards adopted, there were to be aſſiſtants "to read and expound the chapters." p. 100. There were ſome at Baſil, who, like theſe at Frankford, "triumphed in erecting their church of the *Purity*;" of whom Bale ſays, "They mock the rehearſal of God's commandments, and of the epiſtles and goſpels in our communion, and ſay they are miſplaced." Strype's Mem. iii. App. p. 107.

[b] Troubles, p. 4—9.

church, free from all *dregs of ſuperſtitious ceremonies*." The anſwers, from Embden, where Scory biſhop of Chicheſter preſided, from Straſburgh, where Grindal, Sandys, and Haddon had the conſtituting of the church, from Horne, Chambers, Mullins, Parkhurſt, and others at Zurick, were temperate, but firm; that they would adhere to "the order laſt taken in the church of England," and were "fully determined to admit and uſe no other [c]."

Theſe anſwers, as might be ſuppoſed, gave little ſatisfaction; nor was the matter mended, when Knox, who by his "Firſt Blaſt" againſt all government, and other ſeditious tracts, had made Scotland, France, and England too hot for him, came from Geneva to Frankford, in conſequence of a letter from the congregation there, inviting him to be their miniſter [d]. Other letters paſſed, and the breach grew wider; which Grindal and Chambers, coming

[c] From Zurick, 23 Oct. 1554. ib. 10—12. The anſwers from Embden and Straſburgh (p. 9. 12.) are not given; no doubt becauſe they agreed with this from Zurick, and, as the innovators confeſſed, were "not in ſuch ſort as they looked for." p. 14.

[d] P. 14. The magiſtrates afterwards obliged him to leave Frankford, on account of treaſonable paſſages in his "Admonition to Chriſtians," p. 37. The letter inviting him to Frankford was dated Sept. 24, 1554. Strype's Mem. iii. 149.

from Straſburgh, endeavoured to heal by propoſing to retain the ſubſtance of the Engliſh liturgy, omitting only ſuch ceremonies and things as the country could not bear [e]. Tranquillity was thus reſtored for a time, but it did not laſt; for Knox and Whittingham were as averſe to the ſubſtance as to the circumſtantials of the Engliſh book; and they now wrote to Calvin [f], not becauſe they were inclined to accede to what many deſired [g], the order of Geneva, but willing enough to diſgrace the Engliſh ritual by his authority. Calvin, in his anſwer, lamented that there ſhould exiſt among them ſtrife and diſputes, when they ought to be united in their diſperſion and common ſuffering; but as to the main buſineſs, though he did not go the lengths of thoſe that wrote to him in cenſuring the Engliſh liturgy, yet he ſufficiently expreſſed his diſapprobation of it; ſaying that he ſaw in it *multas tolerabiles ineptias*, remains of popiſh dregs, and a want of ſuch purity as might be deſired [h].

[e] P. 18. Grindal in his letter of May 6, 1555 (quoted above, p. 22.) thanks God that the church was then "well quieted by the prudency of Maſter Cox and others, which met here for that purpoſe."

[f] P. 23—27.

[g] P. 21. 30.

[h] From Geneva, 22 Jan. 1555. ib. 28—30.

This letter from Geneva inflamed the oppoſition, and diſputes increaſed. At length John Hales, a man of learning and moderation, much reſpected in the court of Edward VI. addreſſed a letter to "certain perſons that ſeemed deſirous of the peace of the church," wiſhing them to meet, and conſult how they might beſt allay this ſtrife [i]. Nowell, now at Frankford, was one of theſe ſons of peace, and, as the account ſays, "the mouth for the reſt [k]." Certain decrees or reſolutions, reaſonable and conciliatory, were preſented to the paſtor and elders, accompanied with a modeſt proteſtation, intreating their conſent; but they choſe to reſign, rather than ſubmit; and afterwards, when the magiſtrates of the town made an order, that they ſhould be reſtored, the congregation refuſed them [l].

They had ſucceſſively two forms of Diſcipline among them, the Old and the New [m].

[i] 26 Jan. 1557. p. 55, 56. Hales probably was of Braſen Noſe. Ath. Oxon. i. 176.

[k] P. 62. Nowell had probably not been long at Frankford; for Fox, in a letter from thence to Martyr (at Straſburgh, as it ſeems) ſix or eight months at leaſt after the commencement of the troubles, ſends ſalutations to him among others: "D. Nowellum—ſalutari cupio." Strype's Memor. iii. App. p. 106.

[l] P. 75.

[m] The old Diſcipline, p. 94—97. The new, p. 97—114.

In both there was an expreſs rule, that all perſons, women as well as men, before they were admitted members of the church, ſhould make a declaration or confeſſion of faith; which the new diſcipline further required them to ſubſcribe, if they could write [n]. In this new diſcipline, aſſuming truth of doctrine and the right miniſtration of the Sacraments and Common Prayer, as principal ſigns and notes of a viſible church, and holding for true doctrine, full and ſufficient for ſalvation, what is contained in canonical Scripture, and briefly ſummed up, as concerning faith, in the three Creeds, they pledged themſelves to "obſerve and keep the form and order of the miniſtration of the ſacraments and common prayer, as ſet forth by the authority of bleſſed king Edward of famous memory," but with omiſſion of certain rites and ceremonies, as things indifferent [o].

The whole congregation, at this time, ſeems not much to have exceeded threeſcore [p]; fifty-ſeven of whom ſubſcribed the new diſcipline; and among them are the names of David Whitehead, Alexander Nowell, Thomas Wil-

[n] P. 94. 108.

[o] P. 99.

[p] Not above 62. March 30. p. 84.

ſon, and John Mullins [q]. Nowell, Daniel Rogers, Sir Francis Knolles, and Henry his ſon, with twenty others, "were added to the church, the 21 of December, 1557;" and, I preſume, aſſented to the diſcipline; though none of them ſeem to have ſubſcribed it, but Nowell only; who appears to have been at Frankford before [r].

This amended diſcipline, in common with the other, coincided in moſt points with the preſbyterian form, particularly in appointing two miniſters with equal powers; to which Horne, Iſaac, and Chambers objected on many grounds, but principally on the authority of Scripture, and the example of the primitive church [s]. To the anſwers, which were neceſſarily evaſive and unſatisfactory, the names of Hales, Whitehead, Nowell, Mullins, Watts, and Wilſon, among others, are ſubſcribed [t].

On the death of queen Mary the venerable Miles Coverdale, Knox, Whittingham, Goodman, and others addreſſed a circular letter to Straſburgh, Frankford, and other cities, where

[q] P. 114.

[r] 26 Jan. 1557. (as juſt mentioned, p. 29. n. i.) which I ſuppoſe muſt mean 1556–7 and ſo was prior to Dec. 1557.

[s] P. 115.

[t] P. 116.

the Engliſh reſided, exhorting them to unity, and not to contend for ſuperfluous ceremonies, to the joy of the papiſts [u]. The anſwer from Frankford, by the ſame meſſenger who brought the letter, William Kethe, deſerves particular notice. Thoſe with whom reconciliation was ſought, had left Frankford before the letter arrived; "and as for ourſelves, as we have had no contention with you at all aforetime; ſo we purpoſe not (as we truſt there ſhall be no cauſe) to enter into contention with you hereafter. For ceremonies to contend (where it ſhall be neither in your hands nor ours to appoint what ſhall be, but in ſuch men's wiſdoms as ſhall be appointed to the deviſing of the ſame, and which ſhall be received by common conſent of Parliament,) it ſhall be to ſmall purpoſe. But we truſt that both true religion ſhall be reſtored, and that we ſhall not be burthened with unprofitable ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpoſe to ſubmit ourſelves to ſuch orders as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by authority, being not of themſelves wicked, ſo we

[u] From Geneva, Dec. 15. p. 160—162. William Kethe, a miniſter, "was a Scot, endued," as Strype ſays, "with a vein of poetry." Memor. vol. iii. 460. where, and p. 441. are ſpecimens of his talent, ſuch as it was.

would wiſh you willingly to do the ſame. For whereas all the reformed churches differ among themſelves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of doctrine; we ſee no inconvenience, if we uſe ſome ceremonies diverſe from them, ſo that we agree in the chief points of our religion. Notwithſtanding, if any ſhall be intruded, that ſhall be offenſive, we, upon juſt conference and deliberation upon the ſame, at our meeting with you in England (which we truſt by God's grace will be ſhortly) will brotherly join with you to be ſuitors for the reformation and aboliſhing of the ſame. In the mean ſeaſon, let us with one heart and mind call to the Almighty God, that of his infinite mercy, he will finiſh and eſtabliſh the work, that he hath begun in our country, and that we may all lovingly conſent together in the earneſt ſetting forth of his truth, that God may be known and exalted, and his church perfectly builded up through Chriſt our Lord. Your loving friends, in the name of the reſt of the church, James Pilkington, Edmund Iſaac, Henry Knolles, John Mullins, Alexander Nowell," and others [x].

[x] Jan. 3. 1559 (i. e. clearly 1558–9) p. 163. The "Brief Diſcourſe of the Troubles at Frankford," a ſmall quarto, was printed

We have dwelt perhaps too long on this unfortunate controverſy; but it was the original malady, the firſt ſpring and occaſion of all the diſputes, which ever ſince have haraſſed the church of England; and Nowell, as we have ſeen, was concerned in it; ſometimes perhaps, for the ſake of peace, conceding too much to the preſbyterian party; but at laſt, with equal wiſdom moderation and firmneſs, preſſing unity in eſſentials, and ſubmiſſion in ſmaller matters to authority duly appointed and legally exerciſed.

But it is time to look homeward, and ſee how affairs are going on in England.

abroad, without the name either of editor or place, in 1575. It appears to have been compiled (p. 81, 82.) by ſome one of the fifteen perſons, who were choſen to frame the New Diſcipline; and as it all along favours the preſbyterian party, it was reprinted at London in 1642, and "preſented to the view and conſideration of—Parliament, and the reverend Divines of the intended enſuing Aſſembly." Both editions, by the kindneſs of the late Mr. Brand, are in my poſſeſſion; the references are to that of 1642. The other, which is more ſcarce, is a curious ſpecimen of early German typography. The tract is alſo printed in the Phenix, vol. ii. p. 70, &c.

SECTION III.

IT was the wiſdom of Elizabeth, when ſhe aſſumed the reins of a kingdom ſuffering and diſtracted, to do nothing precipitately. Inſtructed in true religion, and reſolved from the firſt to encourage and reſtore it, ſhe deliberated, in her own mind and with her experienced counſellors, how ſhe might bring about the reformation, which ſhe meditated, with greateſt ſecurity and beſt effect. The proclamation therefore, which announced her acceſſion to the throne, ſtrictly commanded all her ſubjects to keep themſelves in peace, and not to attempt any alteration or change of eſtabliſhed uſages. The Litany in Engliſh, as uſed in her Majeſty's chapel, was allowed, with the epiſtle and goſpel, and the Lord's prayer and creed, in Engliſh; and no other prayers or ceremonies permitted, but ſuch as were at preſent uſed in the church; until conſultation might be had in parliament, by her Majeſty and the three eſtates of the realm, for the better conciliation and ſettlement of matters of religion.

In the mean time care was taken, that the

public preachers, eſpecially at St. Paul's croſs, ſhould be men of prudence and piety, who would move no diſputes reſpecting government. And ſo Dr. Bill, the Queen's almoner, preached at the croſs on the ſunday after her Majeſty's acceſſion [y]; and Dr. Cox, recently returned from abroad, was appointed to preach at the opening of the parliament [z], January 23, 1559-60.

But though the learned exiles were called to preach before the Queen and other public auditories, they were for ſome time ſuffered to remain in a poor neglected condition; neither reſtored to their former preferments, nor otherwiſe provided for; ſo that, as Dr. Sandys lamented to Parker, they were not ſo bare in the time of their exile, as now on their return [a].

It has been ſaid, that Nowell was "the firſt that returned from foreign parts [b];" but this account, if it did not originate, as perhaps it did, in a mere miſtake, ſeems not to be correct

[y] Strype's Ann. i 35. 112.

[z] Ibid. 56.

[a] Ibid. 131. with 56.

[b] Donald Lupton in his Life of Nowell. In the engraving of Nowell's epitaph in Dugd. St. Paul's (p. 110.) I ſuſpect "reducum i," which is certainly a blunder, and probably ought to be "reduci," was read "reducum primo," and of courſe tranſlated "the firſt of thoſe that returned."

in point of fact. For as he was at Frankford, and apparently not haſtening home, on the third of January [c], Sandys and Grindal, who reached London on the day of the Queen's coronation [d], which was the fifteenth of that month, and Cox and others probably, muſt have returned before him. Whatever was the exact time of his arrival, his brother Laurence, who had alſo been abroad, obtained preferment before him; for he was inſtalled Dean of Lichfield on the 29th of April, 1559. His predeceſſor in that dignity was John Ramridge, D. D. of Merton college, a zealous papiſt, who was made dean in the firſt year of queen Mary, and leaving England without any compulſion, on the acceſſion of Elizabeth, being much troubled at foreſeeing the alteration of religion, he went into Flanders; where, wandering about in great diſcontent, he was accidentally met by thieves, who robbed and murdered him [e].

The new Dean was entruſted by Sir William Cecil with the education of the young earl of Oxford, his ward (who afterwards married his beloved and accompliſhed daughter, Anne Cecil;) and on proſpect of leiſure

[c] See above, p. 34. n. x.

[d] Fox's Martyrs, ii. p. 2089 b.

[e] Ath. Oxon. i. Faſti 67 Harwood's Hiſt. Lichf. p 182.

when he was about to be releaſed from his honourable charge, he ſubmitted a propoſal to the Secretary, expreſſed in very elegant Latin, offering to frame and preſent to him an exact map of England. Such a gift, in theſe days, might ſeem hardly worthy of the acceptance of a great and learned ſtateſman; but in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when the art of engraving in this country was in its infancy, and an engraved map probably could not be procured, if the learned Dean, a complete maſter of his pen, was able to achieve his wiſhes, and to delineate the whole kingdom and the ſeveral counties with greater clearneſs and accuracy, than had hitherto been done, the work might be, as he confidently hoped, no deſpicable monument to be dedicated to the name of his illuſtrious patron, and to remain in the royal cabinets, a valuable document for his ſucceſſors in office, while the Britiſh empire ſhould endure [f].

The buſineſs of that important parliament, the firſt of Elizabeth, in which the acts of uniformity and ſupremacy for the ſettlement of religion were paſſed, was principally managed by the lord Keeper Bacon, conformably

[f] See the original in the Burghley MSS. Brit. Muſ. vol. vi. No. 54. in June 1568.

to the wiſhes of the Queen and his own ſagacious maxim, "Let us wait a little, that we may have done the ſooner [g]." It was diſſolved on the eighth of May [h]; and ſhortly after, as appears by a paper of ſecretary Cecil's, Nowell was fixed upon, with Parker, Bill, Whitehead, Pilkington, Sandys, Jewell, Becon, and others, to be promoted to the chief preferments then vacant [i].

And here it may be proper to advert to an original letter, which, though it does not mention Nowell, refers to tranſactions in which he was concerned, and throws conſiderable light on the ſtate and occurrences of thoſe days. It is dated at London, May 28, 1559, and addreſſed to Mr. Abel at Straſburgh, one of the learned and liberal merchants of London, who had contributed to the ſupport of the exiles; and, by the importation of books and otherwiſe, greatly promoted literature and the reformation [k]. The

[g] Biogr. Britan.

[h] Strype's Annals, i. 68.

[i] Ibid. p. 154.

[k] Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 90. Parkhurſt addreſſes one of his epigrams to him: "Cum perpetuo me amaveris,
Abele mi chariſſime" &c. p. 108.
He ſubſcribes a letter, Sept. 29, 1556, with Edwin Sandys and others, endeavouring to make an end of the "ſorrowful controverſy" at Frankford. Troubles of Frankford, p. 149.

writer, who does not ſubſcribe his name, as his hand was well known to his friend, had recently been at his new benefice in Kent, "by the ſame token that he was robbed of his gown and cap at Gad's hill"—one proof, by the way, that our immortal bard did not, even in ſmall matters, loſe ſight of truth and probability, when he made Gad's hill the ſcene of the depredations of his valorous knight.

The chief particulars in the letter are theſe: that Mr. Grindal preached at the croſs on Whitſun monday, which was the firſt ſermon that had been there ſince Chriſtmas, except two at Eaſter; and in his ſermon, the lord Keeper and the whole Council being preſent, he proclaimed the reſtoring of the book of king Edward; whereat as well the lords as the people made, or at leaſt pretended, a wonderful rejoicing. There was no biſhop, nor canon of St. Paul's, preſent; and as the penalty for not receiving the new ſervice book was not to take place till midſummer, therefore St. Paul's and certain other churches ſtill kept their popiſh ſervice; but the greater part in the city were reformed.

From the very beginning of the Queen's reign plots were formed againſt her; and con-

jurers [1] did incredible miſchief, in abuſing her ſubjects, and pretending to foretel, that ſhe ſhould not live long. In conſequence of ſome charge of this ſort it ſeems to have been, that on friday in Whitſun week "a prieſt, a popiſh merchant, was carried to the tower for uttering words againſt the Queen's majeſty," ſaying "that ſhe ſhould not long continue."

There was ſhortly to be a viſitation of the whole realm by her Majeſty's authority; and Sir Anthony Cook, Mr. Goodrich, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Dr. Haddon, Mr. Wroth, with my Lord of Bedford, Lord Mountjoy, and Dr. Weſton, lately chancellor to biſhop Coverdale, now dean of the arches, were to be viſitors, and alſo the Queen's commiſſioners for all eccleſiaſtical matters; to whom others were to be added, making the whole number fourteen.

Some of theſe names are not elſewhere found among the Queen's viſitors, and were not perhaps actually appointed; and Nowell, who was one of the number, is not here mentioned. Separate commiſſions were iſſued

[1] See Strype's Ann. i. 7, 8. 44. A prieſt, with others, was ſet in the pillory for conjuring, 1561. ib. 269. And the frequency of theſe practices occaſioned an act againſt conjurations in 1562. ib. 311.

for diſtinct parts of the kingdom; in one of which, dated July 22, 1559, Nowell was included, with the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Rutland and Huntington, Sir William Cecil, Sir Ambroſe Cave, Thomas Bentham, D. D., Fleetwood the lawyer, Stephen Nevinſon, LL. D., and others, to viſit the dioceſes of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Lichfield [m].

The deſign of theſe viſitations was to deliver the Queen's Injunctions, to ſee that regiſters were duly kept, that altars and images were removed and defaced; to inquire what books of the Scriptures had been burnt, and how many perſons put to death, or impriſoned, for religion, in the late troubles; to reſtore ejected miniſters, to adminiſter the oath of ſupremacy, and to injoin the uſe of the new ſervice book. And the effect of the viſitation, in advancing the reformation, was ſo great, that, throughout the whole kingdom, the commiſſioners made returns of not more than one hundred and eighty nine of the clergy, who refuſed compliance [n].

The letter writer ſays, Mr. Horn (afterwards biſhop of Wincheſter) preached at the

[m] Strype's Ann. i. 167.

[n] Ibid. 159. 164. 172. App. 58.

croſs on Trinity ſunday, and made an excellent ſermon againſt Antichriſt's vicar. On tueſday in that week the French ambaſſadors arrived, and were received very honourably at the court at Weſtminſter. They were preſent at the Engliſh ſervice in her Majeſty's chapel, and when ſhe had taken an oath in confirmation of the peace, they were feaſted by her Highneſs with ſuch ſolemnity as was ſcarcely ever ſeen. Philip's ambaſſador, count Feria, with his ſuite, departed the ſame day; but his conſort, a lady of great piety, whom he had married in England, did not chooſe, as we learn elſewhere °, to accompany her huſband and leave her native country.

° From "The Life of the Ladie Jane Dormer Ducheſſe of Feria," a manuſcript in a very fair hand, by H. Clifford, dedicated to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, and Baron of Wing, whoſe "valiant father—died in the battle of Newbury this year 1643." It is enriched with ſome fine drawings, particularly a beautiful one of the Ducheſs with a black veil thrown back, a book in her right hand and beads in her left, copied 1802, from an original painting of 1572, at Cateſby in Northamptonſhire, where ſhe is ſtyled, "Vidua D. Gomiſii Sueres Deſigueroa y Cordova, Feriæ Ducis, æt. ſuæ 35." She was daughter of "Sir William Dormer, one of 6 Knights of the Bath to queen *Mary of bleſſed and pious memory*," p. 8. only ſon of Sir Robert Dormer by his wife Lady Jane Newdigate, p. 15. Her mother was Lady Mary Sydney, ſiſter to Sir Henry Sydney, lord Lieutenant of Ireland &c. The MS. was lately in the hands of Mr. Howlett,

Mr. Springham, another London merchant, a patron of the exiles, came home with his wife and company on the wedneſday before this letter was written, and on the day of its date Mr. Barlow preached at the croſs, who was named to be biſhop of Chicheſter, as were Scory for Hereford, Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, and Bill or Whitehead for Saliſbury. Some of the biſhops, as York, London, Lichfield, and Carliſle, had diſmiſſed their ſervants, becauſe, as it was thought, they intended to reſign their biſhoprics: "I pray God," ſays the writer, "there come no worſe tidings to England. The greater part of the monks of Weſtminſter have changed their coats already."

From the writer's ſalutations to his friends abroad, it is probable, that he himſelf had been an exile; but who he was, it were, I fear, fruitleſs to inquire; for it was not Jewell, to whom, after laborious reſearch, it was once aſcribed [p]. For the accurate biſhop Jewell

Alderman of Coventry. A proviſo in favour of the Ducheſs of Feria, 13 Eliz. 1571. Dewes, f. 179. b.

[p] By the late John Loveday Eſq. of Caverſham. The letter is now in the hands of his ſon, John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamſcot near Banbury. See a copy of it, App. No. iii.

wrote a ſmall and very beautiful hand[q]; but this anonymous letter is in a hand totally different, ſtrong and coarſe.

Cardinal Pole, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died on the day of the demiſe of queen Mary; but conſiſtently with the careful deliberation already noted[r], whereby the reign of Elizabeth was diſtinguiſhed from the haſty meaſures of Mary's court, as well the metropolitan as other churches, ſome void by death and others by deprivation, were ſuffered to continue for ſome time without paſtors. At length however Parker, mild and comely[s], grave, learned, and devout, was pitched upon to be archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was conſecrated in Lambeth chapel, December 17, 1559; where, four days afterwards, he conſecrated Grindal biſhop of London, Cox of

[q] As appears by his letters among Abp. Parker's MSS. in Bennet College, Cambridge.

[r] P. 36.

[s] The learning judgement and talents of the archbiſhop are univerſally known. Of his perſonal appearance Aſcham, who knew him well and had ſeen him preſide at Cambridge, ſays, "The Vice Chancellor (at Louvain is) more like in apparel and port to our prieſt of Horningſhire, than to the comelineſs of M. Dr. Parker." Letter from Augſburg, Jan. 20, 1551–2. Works by Bennet, p. 371.

Ely, Sandys of Worceſter, and Merrick of Bangor. Nowell was chaplain to Grindal, and preached the conſecration ſermon [t], on the very ſeaſonable and appoſite text, "Take heed therefore unto yourſelves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood." Acts xx. 28.

Preferment now began to flow in upon him. On the firſt day of the new year, 1559-60, Grindal collated him to the Archdeaconry of Middleſex [u]. On the third of February the Archbiſhop collated him to the rectory of Saltwood, with the annexed chapel of Hythe, in Kent [x]; and on the fourteenth of the ſame month to a prebend of Canterbury [y]. The archdeaconry was void by the deprivation of William Chadſey, D. D. who had been

[t] Strype's Ann. i. 156.

[u] Extr. Reg. Grindal, in the poſſeſſion of R. Gough Eſquire. Newcourt, i. 82.

[x] Reg. Parker i. 341. Of the fine old Caſtle at Saltwood (part of which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1580, Stow's Chron. 680.) ſee an account, accompanied with four views, in Gent. Mag. 1802. 1089. a view of Hythe church, ib. 1001. Saltwood church and part of the Caſtle, ib. 1805. 1112 with 1012.

[y] Reg. Parker i. 341. b.

chaplain to Bonner, and was Prefident of Corpus Chrifti college in Oxford, and canon of Chrift Church [z]; from both which he was ejected, probably, as others were, for refufing to take the oath of fupremacy. Saltwood was vacant for the fame reafon, by the deprivation of Nicholas Harpsfield [a], celebrated for his fkill in theology and hiftory, who was one of the difputants at Weftminfter, in the beginning of this reign, on the Roman catholic fide, when they were fo foiled the firft day, that they refufed to continue the difputation [b].

The prebend of Canterbury was vacant by the deprivation of Robert Collins, probably the fame perfon who was commiffary to Cardinal Pole, and was inftalled as his proxy archbifhop of Canterbury [c]. The regifter ftates, that the prebend was in the gift of the archbifhop, by virtue of a royal patent of Edward VI. granting to archbifhop Cranmer and his fucceffors the patronage, which they ftill enjoy, of three prebends in the church of Canterbury, of which this was one. John Bale,

[z] Ath. Oxon. i. 136.

[a] Ib. 214. Newcourt i. 153. 444.

[b] Strype's Ann. i. 87 &c.

[c] Ath. Oxon. i. 121.

the laborious compiler of the lives of Engliſh writers and of other learned works, particularly againſt the church of Rome, had been admitted to another ſtall in the ſame cathedral, a few days before, by royal preſentation [d].

Nowell preached at the croſs on the tenth of February this year; at which time a perſon did penance for bigamy [e]. This was before the beginning of Lent. During Lent the new biſhops, and other eminent confeſſors and ſufferers of Mary's days, took their turn at the croſs, before noble and crowded auditories; and conciliated great reſpect, as Strype obſerves [f], to what was called the new religion, and to the perſons of the clergy, newly appearing out of their baniſhment and receſſes, ſhining with clear conſciences and holy zeal for truth. Now alſo, firſt at the court, and more publicly at the croſs on paſſion ſunday, Jewell made his famous challenge, that none of the peculiar and diſcriminating dogmas of popery could be proved, either by warrant of Scripture, or by authority of the fathers or

[d] Reg. Parker, ut ſupra.

[e] Strype's Ann. i. 199.

[f] Ibid. 201.

councils, during ſix hundred years from the birth of Chriſt [g].

Nowell reſigned Saltwood within the year, and was ſucceeded by Stephen Nevinſon [h], LL. D. prebendary of Canterbury, and commiſſary general to the archbiſhop; by whom he was deputed, with Nowell and other commiſſioners, about autumn, 1560, to viſit the church and the dioceſe of Canterbury, and the church and dioceſe of Rocheſter [i]. The injunctions for this metropolitan viſitation, reſpecting reſidence, ſermons, the holy communion, and other matters of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, drawn up by the commiſſioners, were reviſed and approved by the archbiſhop; and are preſerved among his other invaluable manuſcripts in Bennet college, Cambridge; a monument at once of his own care, and of the wiſdom of thoſe, to whom he delegated his viſitatorial authority [k].

By a patent, dated at Weſtminſter, June 21, 1560, the queen erected the monaſtery of St.

[g] Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 124. Heylin's Reform. p. 302. Strype's Ann. i. 201.

[h] Reg. Parker, 347.

[i] Strype's Parker, p. 72. 75. 93. 136. L. of Grindal, p. 50. 192.

[k] MS. Parker cxx. 8. Injunctions by—Alexander Nowell &c. Sept. 1560.

Peter's, Weſtminſter, which the monks had lately quitted [l], into a collegiate church; and Nowell had the honour of being named, in the charter of foundation [m], the firſt prebendary of the ſeventh ſtall; which he reſigned the year following, and was ſucceeded in it by John Hill, B. D. of Chriſt Church, Oxford [n]. The ſtatutes, on this new foundation, were compiled by Dr. Bill [o], the queen's almoner, who was the firſt Dean.

William May, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, counſellor to Edward VI, and one of the compilers of his firſt liturgy, having been ejected from his deanery by queen Mary, was reſtored by Elizabeth, and was afterwards elected archbiſhop of York, but died Auguſt 8, 1560, before he was conſecrated. "This eminently pious and learned Dean was ſucceeded by another eminently pious and learned man, Alexander Nowell [p]." The Queen's letter to the chapter on the occaſion, dated November 11, is couched in theſe words: "As well for his godly zeal, and ſpecial good learning, and

[l] See above, p. 45.

[m] Rymer xv. p. 590. Newcourt i. 49.

[n] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 90. Newcourt i. 436. n. m. and 926.

[o] Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 10.

[p] Strype's Ann. i. 205. and ſee Newcourt i. 47.

other ſingular gifts and virtues, we thought good to commend him unto you, as one, whom we, of a ſingular good will and hearty affection towards that church, would have preferred unto the Deanery thereof [q]." Accordingly his friend and fellow exile, John Mullins, one of the reſidentiaries, having appointed tueſday, November 27, for the day of election, he was by the ſaid Mullins, Gabriel Goodman (afterwards dean of Weſtminſter) Alley, biſhop of Exeter, Thomas Watts, William Saxey, and other prebendaries, duly elected [r]; and made his entrance into the choir the ſame day, when Te Deum was ſung, and the organ played. The biſhop of London confirmed the election December 1; and on the third of that month, collated him to the prebend of Wildland in St. Paul's [s], vacant by the deprivation of John Morwen, noted for his pro-

[q] Strype's Grindal, p. 38. The terms of the letter were not words of courſe, but ſelect and appropriate, as is evident by comparing it with the letter recommending Nowell's ſucceſſor, Dr. Overall (Chaplain in Ordinary and Profeſſor of Divinity at Cambridge) "in ſome conſideration of his learning and other virtues inabling him to a place of ſuch dignity." Brit. Muſ. MS. Sloane, 856. f. 47.

[r] Reg. Decan. et Capit. D. Pauli, Nowell i. f. 52. b. &c. Reg. Grindal, 15. b. &c. Strype's Grind. 38. Annals i. 205.

[s] Reg. Grind. Newcourt i. 215.

found knowledge of divinity and Greek, who had been private inſtructor to Jewell in Corpus Chriſti college, and bore this memorable teſtimony to his merit, "That, though a heretic in faith, in life he ſeemed an angel [t].

The learned exiles, according to Ridley's prophetic wiſh [u], had a principal hand in reſtoring and advancing the reformed religion; and, among them, Nowell, ready at every call of duty, bore a conſtant part. He preached at the croſs on the third ſunday after Epiphany; on which occaſion a paſſage of his ſermon was much talked of, and groſsly miſrepreſented by the papiſts; who had the confidence to charge him, even in print, with having ſaid, That "it would do him good to raze his buckler upon a papiſt's face." To this he was forced to anſwer, and ſaid, "It was a falſe lye; and that he had rather go a thouſand miles about, than to be put to that neceſſity to ſave his life by ſuch hard means: and have his own face razed ten times, than he would once raze another man's face; or hurt any Chriſtian man: ſo little good would it do him."

[t] Humphr. Vit. Juel. p. 25. Of Morwen ſee Ath. Ox. i. 82. and Newcourt i. 147.

[u] See above, p. 24.

The truth was this, he preached upon the epiſtle of the day; in which are the words, "Avenge not yourſelves;" and after he had declared, that we may not avenge ourſelves, he obſerved that the common old tranſlation had it, that we ſhould not *defend* ourſelves. And hereupon he moved this queſtion, "Whether a Chriſtian man might defend himſelf." Whereunto he anſwered by theſe words: In caſe we be, by any magiſtrate or officer, or at the commandment of the prince, by any man wronged, I know no defence, but patient ſuffering. For no true Chriſtian hath any hand to lift up againſt the prince. But in caſe a thief would ſet upon me by the high way, where I could have no help at the magiſtrate's hand, I would, if I were able, defend myſelf; and rather than I would be ſlain, I would, if I could, *maim* him. For to kill the thief, who, being in that cauſe ſlain, ſhould a thouſand pounds to a penny be damned, would be moſt horrible. Yea, ſaid he, if any private perſon, without authority of office, or commandment of the prince, ſhould quarrel with me, and call me heretic, thief, or would invade me forcibly, I would lift up my buckler hand, and rather than he ſhould kill me, I would lay my buckler upon his face, if I

could, though it were rough with ſtuds, and had a pike in the middle: ſpeaking (as he ſaid in his vindication) thoſe words only in caſe of ſaving his own life, if he could no other-wiſe do it [x]."

It will readily be admitted, that the good Dean fully vindicated himſelf from this foul aſperſion, and carried the Chriſtian doctrine of ſubmiſſion and non-reſiſtance quite as far as is juſt or neceſſary. But the alteration of manners, for the better ſurely, which has long taken place, makes ſome illuſtration of the paſſage requiſite. No one now, in the pulpit or elſewhere, would talk of "razing his buckler" on the face of a robber that aſſailed him; but, till the days of Elizabeth or later, it was almoſt as common to wear weapons of defence, as to wear clothes. When Dr. Sandys, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, ſat in the chair to confer degrees, and perceived ſome violence attempted, he "groped to his dagger;" and, being a man of great courage, had diſpatched ſome of them, if Dr. Bill and others had not prayed him to hold his hand [y].

[x] Strype's Annals, i. 236.

[y] Fox, ii. p. 2087.

Stow informs us [z], that every ſerving man, from the baſe to the beſt, carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or pomel of his ſword, which hung before him; and that thirty or forty, thus accoutred, uſed to fight in Smithfield, particularly on ſundays; and yet little harm was done, as thruſting was not then in uſe. The bucklers, an article in every haberdaſher's ſhop, were about a foot broad, with a pike of four or five inches. The ſword and buckler, about the 20th of Elizabeth, gave place to the rapier and dagger [a]; when ſturdy apprentices uſed to wear long daggers at their backs or ſides, and to carry the water tankard, to ſerve their maſters, from the Thames and the common conduits [b]. The length of the rapiers, and about the ſame time the depth of the ruffs, increaſing, a proclamation was iſſued againſt them; and grave citizens were ſtationed at the gates of the metropolis to cut the ruffs, which were above a nail deep, and break the rapiers' points, if they exceeded a yard.

[z] Stow's Chron. by Howes, 1631. p. 1024. and 869. b.

[a] Stow, ut ſupra. And ſee Gervaſe Markham's remarkable challenge to Sir John Holles, firſt Earl of Clare, in 1597. "with my rapier and dagger—to fight in our ſhirts and waſtcotes." Gent. Mag. 1803. p. 1004.

[b] Stow, p. 1040.

Such were the times, when Nowell ſpoke ſo familiarly of a buckler, rough with ſtuds and ſharpened with a pike. He preached before the Queen, February 19; and made a godly ſermon, and had a vaſt and honourable audience; and again, at court, March 19. Some of the other preachers at this time, in Lent and at Eaſter, were Skamler biſhop of Peterborough, Pilkington biſhop of Durham, Horn of Wincheſter, Grindal of London, Cox of Ely, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, archdeacon Mullins, and biſhop Jewell. For, as Strype obſerves, it was the wiſdom of the preſent governours to put up, from time to time, able, learned, diſcreet, and aged men, to be teachers of the people at theſe ſolemn and great aſſemblies; who commonly made it their buſineſs to prove and evince the preſent proceedings in religion; and, as occaſion ſerved, to lay open the errors and corruptions of that religion and worſhip, which was now lately rejected [c].

About this time we meet with the firſt certain notice of the Dean's brother, Robert Nowell. He was employed, in the firſt year of the Queen, as counſel for the patentees of

[c] Strype's Ann. i. 246, 247. L. of Grindal, 48.

certain lands, parcel of the eſtates of the biſhop of Wincheſter, when their rights were ſecured by act of parliament [d]. After this, by a patent bearing date February 8, 1560-1, the Queen conſtituted him her Attorney General of the Court of Wards, for life [e]; and it was probably on account of the buſineſs, which the entrance upon this new office brought with it, that, being appointed Lent Reader of Gray's Inn this year, he did not now read [f]; but did, on being re-choſen, in the autumn following. His arms were formerly in one of the ſouth windows of the hall in Grays' Inn [g].

[d] Dewes' Journals, 1682. f. 50—52. "Mr. Noell" here, no doubt, means the Counſellor of Grays' Inn, as the Dean alſo is called "Noell," f. 58. b. 59. where his ſermon before the Queen and Parliament is mentioned. I have not however noticed this, till I could ſubjoin to it the patent, in which he is deſcribed by both his names.

[e] Pat. 8 Feb. 3 Eliz. p. p. Rolls.

[f] Orig. Jurid. p. 294. The eminently accurate author makes a ſlight miſtake in ſaying, "*Poſtea* Attorn. Gen. Cur. Ward." &c. for he was *already* in poſſeſſion of the office. See the preceding note.

[g] Dugd. ib. 306.

SECTION IV.

THIS ſummer, wedneſday June 4, 1561, the ſpire of St. Paul's ſuddenly took fire, and was burnt down. The cauſe of the conflagration has been variouſly reported; but it ſhould ſeem, that the *Vera hiſtoria*[h], minutely detailed in the epiſcopal regiſter, by an eye witneſs, ſhould have precluded ſome late attempts[i] to aſcribe the cataſtrophe to the careleſſneſs of plumbers in repairing the leads; for the writer of that account aſſures us, that neither plumbers, nor other workmen, had been employed about the church, for ſix months before, and that the fire was occaſioned by lightning.

Between the hours of one and two in the afternoon there was an immenſe craſh of thunder, and moſt awful lightning; by which

[h] Reg. Grindal, f. 23. Stow alſo, a contemporary witneſs, gives a ſimilar and circumſtantial account of it as "fired by lightning," in his MS. collections. MS. Library, Lambeth, No. 306. In Chaloner De Rep. Anglorum, 1579, p. 344–348. are verſes "De templi D. Pauli—conflagratione."

"Trajectu horrendo qua paſſa eſt *fulminis ignes*."

[i] See Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynard, p. 135—137 from Heylin's Reform. p. 312.

the ſouth-weſt pinnacle of St. Martin's, Ludgate hill, was thrown down, and burſt through the roof of the church. And certain perſons on the Thames, and others, who were in the fields, affirmed, that they ſaw a long ſtream of fire ending in a point, which ſeemed to enter into the ſpire of St. Paul's on the eaſt ſide. Between the hours of four and five Peter Johnſon, the biſhop's regiſtrar, who records the accident, and others with him, perceived a ſmoke iſſuing from below the globe on the top of the ſpire; and in a moment a flame burſt out, and environed the ſummit of the ſpire, like a crown. In quarter of an hour the braſs eagle, with the croſs which ſupported it, and the golden ball or globe, which uſed to be ſo much admired, fell on the ſouth tower. The lord mayor and aldermen, the biſhop of London, whoſe houſe adjoining the cathedral on the north-weſt was with difficulty ſaved, the Keeper of the great ſeal, and the lord Treaſurer, came and conſulted what might be done; and in the evening they were joined by the Lord Clinton, admiral of the fleet; who was diſpatched by the Queen from Greenwich, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the fire. At ten the fury of the flames abated, and the wind having become moderate, and veering

from the eaſt to a more favourable point, by great providence no lives were loſt, nor houſes deſtroyed, though the embers were carried as far as Newgate market and Fleet ſtreet.

On the ſunday after this melancholy diſaſter, the biſhop of Durham at the croſs exhorted men to repentance and ſubmiſſion to legal authority; bidding them regard what had happened as a warning to all, not as a judgement on any individuals, or particular claſs of men. He took occaſion alſo to condemn the inveterate and ſhameful practice of walking, talking, quarreling, and fighting in St. Paul's, in time of ſermon and prayers; and refuted the groundleſs calumny of thoſe, who interpreted the event as a mark of divine vengeance, on account of the change of religion; reminding them of heavier calamities, which had befallen the kingdom and its capital, during the times of ſuperſtition; as in the firſt of Stephen, when the cathedral and great part of the city were burnt, from London bridge to St. Clement's in the Strand[k].

[k] Reg. Grindal, ubi ſupra. See alſo a "Cronicle" printed by Thomas Marſhe, 1561. Ames, ed. Herbert, 851. Biſhop Pilkington's ſermon on the burning of St. Paul's gave riſe to a pamphlet by Morwen already mentioned, p. 52. who had been chaplain to Bonner, which was printed and caſt about in the

The next ſunday dean Nowell preached an excellent ſermon at the croſs, the lord mayor and aldermen and moſt of the companies being preſent, and a great audience beſides. Whoſe ſubject, ſays Strype, no doubt was the rueful ſpectacle of their cathedral lying in aſhes; and he exciting them, with all his rhetoric, to ſet upon the reparation of it Accordingly two days after, the lord mayor and common council appointed a committee, men of ability and vigilance, to overlook the work, in purſuance of a previous reſolution to grant a levy of three Fifteens, to be raiſed within the city, towards the rebuilding of the church and ſteeple, with all convenient ſpeed [1]. The Dean and chapter on this occaſion contributed the ſum of 136l. 13s. 4d. and

ſtreets of Weſt Cheſter (Strype's Ann. i. 278.) with this title, "An Addicion with Appologie to the cauſes of the brinnynge of Paules Church," reprinted, together with the biſhop's ſermon and a Confutation of the libel by the ſaid Biſhop, 1563, by William Seres. Herbert, ib. 696.

[1] Strype's Ann. i. 268. In the Dean's ſermon on this occaſion perhaps it was, that he related of archbiſhop Courtney, that having collected great ſums for the rebuilding of Paul's croſs, when it was overthrown by an earthquake in 1382, he applied the money to his own uſe. Pennant's London, 1790, p. 433. But as no authority is cited for this anecdote, ſo much to the diſcredit of that munificent prelate, I have not ventured to give it a place in the text.

likewiſe, with the biſhop's approbation, ſold various articles of ſuperfluous plate, to enable them to defray one moiety of 220 l. which the biſhop and chapter had jointly bound themſelves to pay to Chriſtopher Trapp, alderman, for lead uſed in covering the croſs-roof of the north "yle," leading towards Pater Noſter row [m]. There was alſo, in aid of theſe reſources, a general contribution throughout the province of Canterbury, in conſequence of a letter from the Queen to the archbiſhop, under her privy ſignet, for that purpoſe [n].

Grindal, biſhop of London, viſited his cathedral in April, 1561, the Dean and other members giving their attendance; and there being much to be done, not only in diſcipline, but, after the fire, in repairing the church, the viſitation was continued, at intervals, till the middle of November, 1562, when the buſineſs was concluded; an explicit renunciation of the pope and his ſupremacy, by a preſcribed form, having been previouſly ſubſcribed by the Dean and chapter [o].

About this time William Whitaker, the

[m] Reg. Nowell i. 139. b.

[n] Reg. Parker, f. 231. Wilkins Concil. T. iv. 226.

[o] Strype's Grindal, 59—62.

future ornament of the univerſity of Cambridge, having acquired the elements of grammar at Burnley in his native pariſh, where Hargrave was maſter, came up to London; and was kindly entertained by his uncle at the Deanery of St. Paul's, and put under the tuition of Cook, the learned maſter of St. Paul's ſchool [p]. His mother was Elizabeth Nowell, the dean's ſiſter, who was married, as we have already noted [q], to Thomas Whitaker of Holme, in the year 1530, and ſurvived her marriage the wonderful period of ſeventy ſix years [r].

A book was publiſhed about this time, which, though now extremely ſcarce and little known, was not without fame in its day, and maintained its ground in ſucceſſive editions for half a century and more. It has been aſcribed to Nowell [s], but was in fact dedicated to him, and John Mullins and John Walker, prebendaries of St. Paul's [t]. It is

[p] Life by Aſheton. See above, p. 5. n. And of Cook, who was patroniſed by Burghley his ſchoolfellow, ſee Knight's Colet, p. *373*.

[q] Above, p. 8.

[r] Letter of Dr. Whitaker, dated Holme, Feb. 28, 1807.

[s] Tanner in Biblioth.

[t] Archdeacon Mullins has often been mentioned in theſe papers. Of Walker ſee Newcourt i. *73*.

intitled, "A ſword againſt ſwearers and blaſphemers, ſhewing the lawfulneſs of an oath, and how great a ſin it is to ſwear falſely, vainly or raſhly;—enlarged with ſundry examples of God's judgements upon perjured perſons and blaſphemers of his holy name." The author, Edmund Bicknoll, in his epiſtle to the Reader, ſays, "The force of papiſtry, God be thanked, is beaten down; they write not, nor have not what to write. Our lack of good life is the greateſt loſs." And therefore he deſires all good Chriſtians to further this motion, but eſpecially his patrons by name, having choſen three ſuch, that "all other, either learned or godly, will eaſily give them the title (beſides their excellent univerſal gifts of literature) of diligent and faithful diſtributers of God's heavenly myſteries." And, ſpeaking of Nowell particularly, as heretofore promoting the reformation, "ſo at this time I truſt in God his ſpirit will work almighty effect in him. And the other twain I am ſure, in their condition and place, will move and further this Chriſtian requeſt." To this there are ſubjoined certain lines, the initials of which form the word "Alexander;" and then follow three qua-

trains, addreſſed to Nowell, and beginning with his name [u].

In the Dedication the author ſays, "ſome faults againſt the ſecond table, becauſe they concern the commonwealth, are ſomewhat duly executed: nay I dare boldly ſay, that laws for hawks' eggs [x], for covies of partridges, and eyes of pheaſants [y], are with much diligence obſerved and looked unto (and good cauſe that ſo they ſhould.) But this that concerneth God's honour,—this commandment of the firſt table, concerning the reverence of God's own name, is too much neg-

[u] "Nowell, God ſpeed thy tongue,
And guide thee with his grace;
That when to preach thy courſe ſhall come,
This vice thou maiſt deface.
And as. S. Ridley did
procure the poore ſome ioy,
When good King Edward did from him
perceive their hard diſtreſſe;
So God give thee to moue,
That ſharp Lawes may deſtroy
This filthie ſinne, and thine attempts
God bleſſe with good ſucceſſe."

[x] Penalty for taking hawks eggs. 5 Eliz. c. 21. ſ. 3.

[y] A bill for the preſervation of pheaſants and partridges was read the third time, 9 March, 18 Eliz. 1575–6. Dewes' Journ. 257. b.

lected." He therefore intreats his patrons, gladly profeſſing that he knew, that both in doctrine and life, none laboured more fervently than they did, to continue their earneſt zeal; and, when opportunity of time and place ſhould ſerve, to require ſome ſtrength of law to be eſtabliſhed againſt vain ſwearing and perjury. "God is never better ſerved than in adverſity. Wealth maketh us wantons, peace breedeth pride; we have quite forgotten *Mariana tempora*.—The profeſſion of our faith in religion is like unto our fooliſh fancy in building. We delight in ſhews, in tricks and toys, in cornered windows, in tops of chimnies, though the bottoms be not [z]. So we diſpute curious unprofitable preterneceſſary queſtions; not regarding the ground and ſubſtance, which is moſt neceſſary, as without the which we are not. *That* your godly wiſdom right well conſidered, when in your ancient reverend age you wrote yet inſtructions for the tender youth, a work which to your preſence for to commend is not ſo ſeemly: it was indeed a hammer, a hatchet, a ſword, an axe, to beat, to cut, to wound, to deſtroy Antichriſt and all heretics."

[z] Perhaps a miſprint for "naught."

Tanner [a] mentions an edition of this book in 1561, which had the acroſtics on Nowell, but, it is preſumed, without the dedication and name of the author; whence he was led to aſſign it to Nowell. Two copies only of this rare book have met my inquiries, one of the year 1606, in the library at Arbury; the other, which belonged to the late Mr. Brand, was without date, printed for William Towreolde, by the aſſent of Richard Watkins; and therefore not prior to 1577, when it was licenſed to Watkins [b]. The dedication, as here quoted (ſince it alludes to Nowell's Catechiſm, which was not publiſhed till 1570) is plainly of that date, or not earlier; about which time the author was preſented by the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's to the vicarage of Horndon on the hill, in the archdeaconry of Eſſex [c], and in 1579 to the rectory of Runwell in the ſame archdeaconry, by Margaret Ayloffe, widow. Both livings became void by his death before November 18, 1585.

In September, 1561, archbiſhop Parker viſited Eton college, and ejected the Provoſt for

[a] Bibliotheca, art. Nowell, Alex.

[b] Ames, ed. Herbert, p. 1029.

[c] June 11, 1578. Newcourt, ii. 343. to Runwell, July 24, 1579. ib. 511.

non-conformity [d]; on which occaſion he recommended to Secretary Cecil the choice of ſeveral perſons fit to ſupply the place, with this remark, "That, if the Queen would have a married miniſter, none comparable to Mr. Nowell." The Secretary conſulted the biſhop of London upon the buſineſs; and he too named Mr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and Mr. Mullins, and Mr. Watts, all of them married. The two laſt, added his lordſhip, "though they be my chaplains, are ſober, honeſt, and learned men." He alſo named Mr. Day of Cambridge and others, that were unmarried; and probably theſe two circumſtances, his being a Cambridge man (on account of the connection between Eton and King's college in that univerſity) and a bachelor, determined the Queen, who was by no means partial to married clergymen, to fix upon Day. Nor indeed had Nowell or any others (if they were apprized, that their names had been mentioned on this occaſion) cauſe to think themſelves aggrieved or diſgraced by the preference of Day; for he was a very poliſhed and able ſcholar, and, as one of his contemporaries informs us, "had a

[d] Strype's Parker, p. 103—105.

good plain faſhion of preaching, apt to edify, and eaſy to remember[e]." He was ſoon after made Dean of Windſor, and in 1595 promoted to the biſhopric of Wincheſter. As to his ejected predeceſſor in the provoſtſhip of Eton, his name has entirely eluded my ſearch; nor does the tranſaction itſelf ſeem generally known; for the Regiſter of the college has no provoſt between Dr. Bill[f], who was alſo Dean of Weſtminſter and died in July 1561, and Day, who was elected December 18[g], the ſame year. The unknown provoſt therefore, whom the archbiſhop removed, had a very ſhort reign.

In the courſe of the enſuing year, 1562, Nowell was frequently in the pulpit, on public occaſions, before large auditories; but his labours, in one reſpect, commenced a little inauſpiciouſly. On new year's day, being the feſtival of the Circumciſion, he preached at St. Paul's, whither the Queen reſorted. Here, ſays Strype, a remarkable paſſage happened, as is recorded in a great

[e] Sir I. Harrington's Brief View &c. p. 69.

[f] Elected Provoſt, July 5, 1559. Reg. Regale, Eton, 1774. p. iv. died July 15, 1561, as Le Neve ſays, p. 362, or July 20, according to Strype, Ann. i. 270.

[g] Reg. Regale; and correct Le Neve, who has it Jan. 5.

man's memorials [h], who lived in thoſe times. The Dean, having met with ſeveral fine engravings, repreſenting the ſtories and paſſions of the ſaints and martyrs, had placed them againſt the epiſtles and goſpels of their reſpective feſtivals, in a Common Prayer book; which he had cauſed to be richly bound, and laid on the cuſhion for the Queen's uſe, in the place where ſhe commonly ſat; intending it for a new year's gift to her Majeſty, and thinking to have pleaſed her fancy therewith. But it had a quite contrary effect. For ſhe conſidered how this varied from her late Injunctions and proclamations, againſt the ſuperſtitious uſe of images in churches, and for the taking away all ſuch reliques of popery. When ſhe came to her place, and had opened the book, and ſaw the pictures, ſhe frowned and bluſhed: and then ſhutting the book (of which ſeveral took notice) ſhe called for the verger, and bade him bring her the old book, wherein ſhe was formerly wont to read. After ſermon, whereas ſhe uſed to get immediately on horſeback, or into her chariot, ſhe went ſtraight to the veſtry, and applying herſelf to the Dean, thus ſhe ſpoke to him:

[h] Sir H. Sydney. Strype's Ann. i. 272.

" Mr. Dean, how came it to paſs, that a new ſervice book was placed on my cuſhion ? To which the Dean anſwered, May it pleaſe your Majeſty, I cauſed it to be placed there. Then ſaid the Queen, Wherefore did you ſo ? To preſent your Majeſty with a new year's gift. You could never preſent me with a worſe. Why ſo, Madam ? You know I have an averſion to idolatry, to images, and pictures of this kind. Wherein is the idolatry, may it pleaſe your Majeſty ? In the cuts, reſembling angels and ſaints ; nay groſſer abſurdities, pictures reſembling the bleſſed Trinity. I meant no harm ; nor did I think it would offend your Majeſty, when I intended it for a new year's gift. You muſt needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation againſt images, pictures, and Romiſh reliques, in the churches ? Was it not read in your deanery ? It was read. But be your Majeſty aſſured, I meant no harm, when I cauſed the cuts to be bound with the ſervice book. You muſt needs be very ignorant to do this after our prohibition of them. It being my ignorance, your Majeſty may the better pardon me. I am ſorry for it : yet glad to hear it was your ignorance, rather than your opinion. Be your Majeſty aſſured,

it was my ignorance. If ſo, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more wiſdom for the future. Amen, I pray God. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by theſe pictures? who engraved them? I know not who engraved them: I bought them. From whom bought you them? From a German. It is well it was from a ſtranger. Had it been any of our ſubjects, we ſhould have queſtioned the matter. Pray let no more of theſe miſtakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future. There ſhall not."

Though the whole of this dialogue is given in Strype, it ſeemed too memorable not to be copied from him. He adds, that this matter occaſioned all the clergy in and about London, and the church-wardens of each pariſh, to ſearch their churches and chapels: and cauſed them to waſh out of the walls all paintings, that ſeemed to be Romiſh and idolatrous; in lieu whereof ſuitable texts of holy Scripture were written.

The Dean preached at the Croſs three days afterwards, January 4, when one did penance for a cheat, having pretended to be dumb; but the maſter of Bridewell having made him ſpeak, he was brought thither, by his

own mouth to confeſs his impoſture, and to aſk the church pardon.

Nowell alſo ſuſtained a principal part this year among the Lent preachers at court before the Queen. His turns there were wednesday in the ſecond week of Lent, and March 11 and 13; and again on the 15th being paſſion ſunday; for the biſhop of London, who ſhould have preached there, was ſick. Sandys and Jewell were ſome of the other preachers; and all theſe ſermons at court were on afternoons, that they might not interfere with the ſermons at St. Paul's, which were in the forenoon.

He likewiſe preached one of the Spital ſermons, on Eaſter tueſday, March 31; which, with the monday's and wedneſday's ſermon, was repeated at the croſs on Low Sunday, by Sampſon, dean of Chriſt Church, Oxford; an office to which he had at other times been appointed, on account of his excellent elocution and memory [i]. The name of Spital ſermons ſtill ſubſiſts in the metropolis; but at what time the cuſtom of repeating thoſe ſermons on the important doctrine of the reſurrection firſt began, or when it ceaſed, I am

[i] Strype, ubi ſupra.

not informed. In the univerſity of Oxford the practice, which was as early as the reign of Henry VII. was continued till near the cloſe of the laſt century.

The royal viſitation before mentioned[k] extended to both the univerſities; and, mildly as it was conducted, there were ſome perſons found in both, who relinquiſhed their places and preferments, rather than take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. All however, who did thus far comply, did not at once become ſincere Proteſtants; which ſeems to have been the caſe with John Sanderſon, fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, who being obſtinate in his errors, and bold and inſolent in oppoſing Dr. Beaumont, Maſter of the houſe, was by him and the whole college expelled from the ſociety. Upon this he appealed to the high Commiſſioners, by a letter to the archbiſhop, who was one of the number[l]; and the cauſe being called before them, he laboured by all the friendſhip he could make, to have it remitted to Cambridge again, where he was aſſured of favour, whether his cauſe were right or wrong.

[k] P. 43.

[l] Strype, Ann. i. 167, gives the names of the Commiſſioners. The commiſſion was dated 20 June, 1 Eliz.

Nowell, underſtanding this to be the nature of the caſe, informed the archbiſhop of it, ſuggeſting to his Grace, that if the matter was ſuffered to ſlip out of their hands, there was no further hope of bridling the obſtinacy of the papiſts in that univerſity; and, there being two fellows of the ſame houſe then in London, he thought it expedient, that they ſhould be examined before the high Commiſſioners, and that the controverſy ſhould be determined, as equity and truth and the eſtabliſhment of good order in the univerſity ſhould require, rather than by ſubtlety of law, and deſcanting upon terms and words. For, as he goes on to ſay, "it is not only in hand whether John Sanderſon ſhall be fellow of Trinity college, or not; but whether there ſhall be any reverence towards the ſuperiors, any obedience, any redreſs, or reformation in religion, in that whole univerſity, or no; whether the truth ſhall obtain, or papiſtry triumph[m]."

Nowell's letter on this occaſion, which is dated "from London, 4 Octobris, 1562," having never been in print, and being not unconnected with the hiſtory of the times, may

[m] MS. Parker cvi. 221. p. 534.

be ſeen in the appendix [n]. As for Sanderſon, his future fate and the iſſue of this buſineſs are not known. He ſeems by ſome verſes ſubjoined to his petition to the archbiſhop, not to have been deficient in learning and ingenuity; but at the ſame time not to have wanted a certain ſpirit, which if the conſciouſneſs of talents does not engender, it does not always ſubdue. For among the reaſons for his expulſion one was "a ſtomachous inſultinge ageynſt the Maſter's charitable admonycion [o]."

Towards the cloſe of the year, his patron, the biſhop of London, collated him to the valuable rectory of Great Hadham in Hertfordſhire, a place memorable on many accounts, and in more reſpects than one en-

[n] App. No. iv.

[o] MS. Parker, ut ſupra, p. 540. I ſubjoin Sanderſon's verſes to the archbiſhop, from the ſame MS.

Ite meæ lacrymæ, verſus properate lugubres,
Ad Mæcenatem flebile carmen abi.
Voce gemente refer quanta eſt anguſtia noſtra,
Commemora vitæ triſtia fata meæ.
Paupertate premor, miſero ſum nudior Iro,
Vix ullus fidam præſtat amicus opem.
Neſcio quid faciam, vel quo veſtigia ducam,
Si tu non faveas, vir celebrande, mihi.
Tu potes huic noſtro medicinam adhibere dolori;
Tu potes, oh! tantum velle, levatus ero.

deared to Nowell. It was the birth place of Edmund of Hadham, the father of Henry the ſeventh [p]. The biſhops of London had a country houſe here; ſo that, in his rectorial as well as decanal reſidence, he would be near his friend and fellow exile, with whom he appears to have kept up a conſtant community of intercourſe and counſels; and when his wife and family were at Hadham and himſelf in town, he was commonly a gueſt at his lordſhip's table [q], in his epiſcopal houſe adjoining St. Paul's. The river Aſh runs through the pariſh of Hadham; and, in this agreeable retirement, he could indulge, unmoleſted, his favourite amuſement of angling. I know not whether an anecdote, then freſh in memory, concerning Dr. Edmund Bricket, his immediate predeceſſor in the living, might not alſo recommend it to Nowell. For he too, like the Dean, though without very imminent riſk of life, had experienced the fury of Bonner's reſentment. For when Bonner came to Hadham, upon his viſitation, two hours

[p] Newcourt i. 829.

[q] Grindal, in a letter to Cecil in 1569, tells him, that the "Dean of St. Paul's was commonly with him at meals, his wife and family being then at Hadham." Strype's Grind. 150. his wife's family by a former huſband, as will appear hereafter.

ſooner than was expected, and found no bells ringing on his approach, and that neither the ſacrament was hanging up in the church, nor a rood ſet up, "he fell a railing and ſwearing moſt intemperately," calling the rector "heretic and knave, with many other ſuch goodly words;" and at laſt, loſing all patience, and reaching at the unfortunate rector to beat him, he miſguided the ſtroke, which fell on Sir Thomas Joſſelin's ear with great force[r]. The meek and placid Nowell, treading the ſame ſpot, would often revolve occurrences which had paſſed there; not without humble gratitude to the great Diſpoſer of events, who had cauſed a purer form of religion to be reſtored, and given him, in Grindal, a more chriſtianlike dioceſan.

Traditional accounts of departed merit, if not combined with ſome permanent memorial, are commonly ſhort-lived and uncertain. The munificent founder of New College in Oxford, known by the magnificence and taſte of his public buildings, is remembered alſo by various edifices of a leſs ſplendid, yet uſeful ſort, with which he ſupplied many of the benefices, which he beſtowed on his colleges.

[r] Burnet's Reform. ii. 290.

At Hadham Nowell built an ample tithe barn, one hundred and ninety feet in length, forty in breadth, and lofty in proportion; which was furniſhed with two ſpacious threſhing floors, and ſo well conſtructed, entirely of Engliſh oak, that it ſtill remains in very good condition, commanding the gratitude of ſucceſſive incumbents, during the lapſe of more than two centuries [s].

To enable him the more commodiouſly to take his amuſement in angling, the ſucceeding biſhop of London, Edwin Sandys, conferred on him a grant of the cuſtody of the river, within the manor of Hadham, with leave to take fiſh, and to cut down timber to make pits and dams, free of all expence whatſoever [t].

And here, having mentioned his attachment to this honeſt and quiet art and recreation of angling, with which Auguſtus uſed to relieve the cares of empire [u], one circumſtance connected with it muſt not be omitted. Having either accidentally or by deſign (for

[s] From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, the preſent worthy Rector of Hadham, F. R. and A. S. Archdeacon of Eſſex, and Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, 1808.

[t] Reg. Nowell i. f. 460.

[u] Sueton. in Aug. c. 83.

the accounts vary) left in the grafs, or buried in the ground, a bottle of ale, he found it again, after ſome time, "not a bottle but a gun, ſuch the ſound of it when opened. And this (as caſualty, ſays Fuller, is the mother of more inventions than induſtry) is believed the original of bottled ale in England [x]."

Izaak Walton, in praiſe of the art of angling, mentions ſome memorable men, who have been dear lovers of it and ornaments to it. "The firſt is Doctor Nowell, ſometimes Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, where his monument ſtands yet undefaced; a man that in the reformation of Elizabeth, not that of Henry VIII. was ſo noted for his meek ſpirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety, that the then parliament and convocation both choſe, enjoined, and truſted him to be the man to make a catechiſm [y] for public uſe, ſuch a one as ſhould ſtand as a rule for faith and manners to their poſterity. And the good old man, though he was very learned, yet knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many nor by hard queſtions,

[x] Fuller's Worthies, p. 115. Anglorum Speculum or Worthies of Engl. by G. S. Gent. 1684. p. 431.

[y] Fuller, ubi ſupra, has the ſame remark in the ſame words; which, in ſubſtance, is repeated in Anglorum Speculum.

like an honeſt angler, made that good plain unperplexed Catechiſm, which is printed with our good old ſervice-book. I ſay, this good man was a dear lover and conſtant practiſer of angling, as any age can produce; and his cuſtom was to ſpend beſides his fixed hours of prayer, thoſe hours which by command of the church were enjoined the clergy, and voluntarily dedicated to devotion by many primitive Chriſtians: I ſay, beſides thoſe hours, this good man was obſerved to ſpend a tenth part of his time in angling; and alſo, for I have converſed with thoſe which have converſed with him, to beſtow a tenth part of his revenue, and uſually all his fiſh, amongſt the poor that inhabited near to thoſe rivers, in which it was caught: ſaying often, "That charity gave life to religion:" and at his return to his houſe, would praiſe God he had ſpent that day free from worldly trouble; both harmleſsly, and in a recreation that became a church-man. And this good man was well content, if not deſirous, that poſterity ſhould know he was an Angler, as may appear by his picture, now to be ſeen, and carefully kept in Braſen Noſe college, to which he was a liberal benefactor, in which picture he is drawn leaning on a deſk with

his Bible before him, and on one hand of him his lines, hooks, and other tackling, lying in a round; and on his other hand are his angle-rods of ſeveral ſorts: and by them this is written, "That he died 13 Feb. 1601, being aged 95 years, 44 of which he had been Dean of St. Paul's church; and that his age had neither impaired his hearing, nor dimmed his eyes, nor weakened his memory, nor made any of the faculties of his mind weak, or uſeleſs." 'Tis ſaid that angling and temperance were great cauſes of theſe bleſſings, and I wiſh the like to all that imitate him, and love the memory of ſo good a man [z]."

There is ſo much *naiveté* and truth in this character, that I make no apology for laying it entire before the reader. Though not by the hand of a contemporary, it is, I believe, the earlieſt and moſt exact account, which we have of the good Dean of St. Paul's, and at the ſame time furniſhes no improper introduction to an obſcure ſubject, which we are preſently to inquire into, the hiſtory of Catechiſms.

[z] Complete Angler, ed. Sir J. Hawkins 1760. p. 40.

SECTION V.

THE ſecond Parliament of queen Elizabeth, which met at Weſtminſter, January 12, 1562-3, is mentioned as memorable on ſeveral accounts, eſpecially for the ſplendor and magnificence, with which the Queen appeared at the opening of it, as particularly deſcribed by a contemporary writer [a]. Her Majeſty came on horſeback, appareled in her mantle, open before, furred with ermine, and her kirtle of crimſon velvet, cloſe before, and cloſe ſleeves, but the hands turned up with ermine, and a hood hanging low round about her neck of ermine; over all a collar ſet with rich ſtones and other jewels, and on her head a rich cawl. At the north door of the abbey

[a] Sir S. Dewes (in his Journals, ed. Bowes, 1682. p. 58. b.) gives the ſame account of the Queen's dreſs &c. without pointing out the ſource of his information. It is copied, almoſt *verbatim*, from a MS. in Caius College, Cambridge (No. 1183 old Library, 64 new Library) where it ſtands as an introduction to Nowell's ſermon; for which reaſon I have ſuffered it to retain its place, abridging only what the MS. and Dewes relate more at large.

ſhe was met by the Dean of Weſtminſter and the Dean of the chapel royal; and St. Edward's ſtaff, with the martlet in the top, was delivered to her; her arm for the bearing thereof aſſiſted by the baron Hunſdon, the canopy borne over her by Charles Howard, eſquire, and five knights; her train borne up by Lord Robert Dudley, maſter of the horſe, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice chamberlain. When her Majeſty, thus royally attired and attended, had proceeded to the traverſe, near the table of adminiſtration, and taken her ſeat, the ſpiritual lords ſitting on the north ſide, and the temporalty on the ſouth, the litany in Engliſh having been ſung, the Dean of St. Paul's began his ſermon, praying firſt for the univerſal church of Chriſt, for the Queen, and the three eſtates of the realm. The text was, "Offer ye the ſacrifice of righteouſneſs, and put your truſt in the Lord." Pſal. iv. 5. and as this pſalm is thought to have been compoſed, as that which precedes it is expreſsly ſaid to have been, when David fled from Abſalom, the diſcourſe opens with a ſhort view of the rebellion of that beloved but ungrateful ſon. Abſalom and his counſellors, not truſting in the Lord, but in themſelves, came to ruin;

but David proſpered; for he neither neglected nor confided in ordinary and reaſonable means, but put his truſt in God. The words, ſpoken by a prince, are a monition to princes and to others in authority, to excel in wiſdom and virtue, as they do in ſtation; ſuggeſting to them, that, according as they imitate the irreligious ſon, or the pious father, they may expect the ſucceſs of the one or the other.

He then adverted to ſome prevailing evils, as pride of apparel, exceſs of diet, the neglect of divine worſhip, and profanation of the Lord's day. The natural clemency of the Queen was very evident; for never, in this realm, had been ſeen a change ſo quiet, and ſo long a reign without blood. But now royal clemency ſhould be converted into juſtice, not for the ſake of puniſhing any man, who kept his opinions within his own breaſt, but to reſtrain ſuch as diſſeminated miſchief, whether againſt the ſafety of the Queen, or the truth of religion. It were well alſo, if, as in France, ſome ſharper laws were deviſed againſt adultery (—a *deſideratum* ſtill in our criminal code) and ſeverer puniſhment in the caſe of murder, than for ſimple felony.

Our preſent happineſs (continued the preacher) eſpecially when compared with the

miſerable eſtate of France (then ſuffering by inteſtine commotions, by famine, and the plague [b]) was matter of joy and gratitude; and as the Queen, greatly to her honour as well as coſt, had lately aided her neighbours of Scotland, although before her enemies, againſt the French; and now had entered upon wars in France, to diſappoint the deviliſh deſigns of the ſame her known and inveterate enemy; it ſhould be well foreſeen to go through with it vigorouſly, and all ſhould contribute largely and willingly. It was alſo adviſable, even in time of peace, particularly for younger brothers, to ſerve in foreign wars, to gain experience; nor ſhould that now be forgotten, which at the ſuppreſſion of abbeys would have been a wiſe meaſure, to reſerve two houſes in every county, one for the reward of ſoldiers, and the other for ſcholars. We ſhould then have been ſupplied with learned ſcholars and good ſoldiers.

As to the ſcarcity of proviſions and high price of corn, it was no wonder, when it was conſidered, that the good laws in maintenance

[b] Haddoni Epp. p. 285. Strype's L. of Sir T. Smith, p. 88. And ſee "Deploratio belli civilis in Gallia excitati anno 1562," by Sir T. Chaloner, in his miſcellaneous verſes, ſubjoined to his work De Rep. Anglorum, 1579. p. 334.

of tillage were not executed; and by the increaſe of paſture, where there uſed to be "twenty ſeveral houſes for the Queen's ſubjects to inhabit in, now there remaineth only a ſhepherd and his dog [c].

[c] The expreſſion, though ſtriking, is natural; and therefore, notwithſtanding we find it in ſeveral authors, it is not certain that they copied one from another. Latimer in his firſt ſermon before the king, printed in this ſame year 1562, complaining of graſiers and incloſers as hinderers of the king's honour, as it "ſtandeth in the greate multitude of people," ſays, "For where as have ben a greate many of houſholders and inhabitauntes, there is now but *a ſhepheard and his dog*." f. 29. b. In 1597, Nov. 5. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Bacon, ſpeaking in the Houſe of Commons againſt incloſures, has the ſame remark of "a ſhepherd and his dog." Dewes' Journals, where ſee alſo the ſpeeches in 1601, on repealing the ſtatute for the increaſe of tillage. f. 674, 675. I know not whether Sir T. More led the way in theſe complaints; but he ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrain, that "Engliſh ſheepe" are "devourers of men," that noblemen and gentlemen "leave no ground for tillage; they incloſe all into paſtures; they throw downe houſes; they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing ſtanding, but onely the Church to be made a ſheephouſe." Utopia, p. 34. ed. 1639. which is quoted from the Latin by Gataker in his ſermon on the Armada, 1626, p. 22. Among the Harley Pamphlets is one (No. 174.) dedicated to the King and Parliament (probably about 1550.) ſhewing "The decaye of England, onely by the great multitude of ſhepe." Ames, p. 746. In a ſermon at the croſs on Trinity ſunday, 1571, by E. B. the preacher ſays, "I do know wher of late there hath bene villages, wherein diuers families haue bene noriſhed—and now all are wrung out, and turned out, and all is annexed to the demayne of one man to mainteine an vnſatiable cormorant."

On this difficult ſubject, which will meet us again, the worthy Dean eſpouſed the popular and plauſible ſide of the queſtion; which a more enlightened and comprehenſive policy ſeems at length to have proved to be more ſpecious than true. In a general view, what is moſt advantageous to the individual is moſt beneficial alſo to the public; and land not equally ſuited to all purpoſes is beſt applied in that way, in which it will be moſt productive. Where the proſpect of ſucceſs in paſture, or by the plough, is equal, and the cultivation of courſe entirely optional, as on a large ſcale muſt be the caſe in numberleſs inſtances, there an increaſing demand, in one way or the other, will increaſe the cultivation, and bring a larger ſtock to market: and, certainly, that the complaint, which has ſubſiſted for ages, of paſturage increaſing to the ſerious diminution of the ſupply of grain, is altogether groundleſs, we have this unanſwerable proof, that when, a few years ago, corn and other articles of ſubſiſtence were enormouſly dear, wheat and other ſorts of grain returned to nearly their former level, long

Signat. B. ii. ed. 1576. penes me. Laſtly, Wharton in his Dream, 1578 (of which more hereafter) ſpeaks of thoſe, who "By hedging of the commons in robd a common wealth."

before the meat in the ſhambles, or any other article connected with grazing, experienced any material reduction of price.

From this view of public manners, and political wants, the preacher proceeded to a point of greater delicacy, the Queen's marriage; which he endeavoured to recommend, as well from the conſideration of the general diſmay and ſorrow, which overwhelmed the nation, when her Majeſty was lately afflicted with ſickneſs, as from the common uncertainty of human life: to which latter reflection he was led by a walk, which he chanced lately to have taken, in the church where he now ſpoke, ſurveying the tombs of her Majeſty's moſt noble anceſtors, thoſe of the longeſt and thoſe of ſhorter reign alike laid in the duſt. Muſing on theſe things, and foreſeeing, in his judgement, the ruin of his country, he had been diſpoſed "to paſs away theſe his old years, meditating himſelf in the Lamentations of Jeremy." But then again, when he heard of the calling of this Parliament, he was thereby encouraged, hoping and not doubting, but there would be ſuch order taken, and good laws eſtabliſhed, as ſhould again erect up the decay of the common weal. "And thus beſeeching God, that this

assembly of the two Houſes may wholly together offer up a ſacrifice of righteouſneſs and thankſgiving, and proceed forward with making of good laws, then I doubt not but your Majeſty ſhall to our comfort long reign over us, and the Nobles with their iſſues continue[d]."

If the preacher, in this diſcourſe, ſhould be thought to encroach a little on the province of the ſenator, it will be recollected, that though the times were now paſt, when the clergy, as almoſt the only competent perſons in point of learning, generally filled the chief offices in the ſtate; yet the examples were recent and approved, when Latimer and others recommended from the pulpit ſuch matters, eſpecially touching religion and good manners, as ſeemed to require legiſlative redreſs and regulation; and of the particular points, to which Nowell adverted, there were not a few, which ſoon afterwards, and partly perhaps in conſequence of his ſuggeſtion, actually engaged the deliberative wiſdom of parliament.

It is not likely that Nowell was taxed, as

[d] MS. Caius Coll. Cambridge, No. 1183 old Library, No. 64. new Library.

he is reported to have been ſometimes, with flattering the Queen in this ſermon; in which if he praiſed her well known and princely clemency, he at the ſame time, in her royal preſence, ſuperbly as ſhe was attired, did not ſcruple to cenſure exceſs of apparel. We may however mention here the plea, which, when he was thus accuſed, he was wont to urge in his own juſtification; that, "he had no other way to inſtruct the Queen what ſhe ſhould be, but by commending her [e]," as if ſhe already was what he wiſhed her to be. And of this allowable practice and addreſs, which her Majeſty wanted neither diſcernment to interpret, nor ingenuity to acknowlege [f], we perhaps have an inſtance in the foregoing diſcourſe; when, noting the care and anxiety of a man dying before he has made his will, and ſet all things in good order, he added, "even ſo, no doubt of it, was and is the Queen's Majeſty much troubled for the ſuc-

[e] Fuller's Ded. of Life out of Death, a ſermon on the recovery of an honourable perſon, 1655.

[f] Thus when the Speaker, Sir Thomas Gargrave, had commended the Queen, in his ſpeech at the opening of the Parliament, 1 Eliz. the lord Keeper Bacon, by her command, "gave him her hearty thanks, as for a good exhortation to her Highneſs, to become ſuch a one as you have commended her for." Dewes' Journ. f. 16. b.

ceſſion of this crown." Whether her Majeſty did, or, in theſe her youthful days, did not yet, feel much concern about a ſucceſſor to the throne, the nation at large had a vaſt ſtake and intereſt in the queſtion; and it was the more natural to preſume the royal breaſt not unmoved with this ſolicitude, "as her ſweet words and ſweeter deeds[g]" (as one ſays of her) were ſuch as won the hearts and affections of all who ſaw her.

The Convocation this ſame year was alſo memorable; being that famous ſynod, in which the Articles of Religion were reviſed and ſubſcribed. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the biſhops and clergy of his province, met in St. Paul's, January 13, when the litany, then commonly a diſtinct ſervice, was chanted in Engliſh, and a Latin ſermon preached by Day, provoſt of Eton, on the appoſite words of St. Peter, "Feed the flock of God, as much as in you is,—not by conſtraint, but willingly[h]." The biſhop of London adminiſtered the holy Communion; and when they had withdrawn into the chapter

[g] Sir I. Harrington, Nugæ Antiq. i. 61.

[h] 1 Pet. v. 2. See the Acts of this Convocation in Synodus Anglicana, p. 194 &c. Strype's Ann. i. 315. Heylin's Reform. p. 330.

houſe, the archbiſhop, in a ſhort but eloquent ſpeech, opened the buſineſs, ſtating the opportunity which was then afforded, with the approbation and good wiſhes of the Queen and of others, for reforming what might be thought to require reformation, in the church of England; and concluded with directing thoſe of the lower houſe to chooſe a Prolocutor, and to preſent him there on the enſuing ſaturday, recommending to them eſpecially the Dean of St. Paul's. He was accordingly elected, and preſented by the clergy in a body, being introduced between Goodman, dean of Weſtminſter, and Sampſon, dean of Chriſt Church, Oxford, with a ſhort ſpeech by the former, in commendation of his talents and virtues. The Prolocutor, in an elegant ſpeech, declared himſelf little fit for the office, but not unwilling to accept it; and the archbiſhop, after conference had with his brother biſhops, by their unanimous conſent, in a neat ſpeech approved and confirmed the election.

In the next ſeſſion, adjourned to Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter abbey, for the convenience of the biſhops in attending parliament, the Prolocutor informed the upper houſe, that certain papers, concerning matters to be reformed, had been ſubmitted to a

committee of the lower houſe, to be reviſed and reduced into order and exhibited in the next ſeſſion; and likewiſe that the Articles of Edward VI. had been delivered to another committee, choſen for the purpoſe, to examine and conſider them, and, as they ſhould ſee occaſion, to correct and amend them; theſe alſo to be exhibited in the next ſeſſion. The Articles, thus produced, ſeem to have engaged the attention of four enſuing ſeſſions; and then, on the 29th of January, they were unanimouſly ſubſcribed by the upper houſe.

On a ſubſequent day, Feb. 5. Jewell, biſhop of Saliſbury, Bentham of Lichfield, Davies of St. David's, and Alley of Exeter, were, by the unanimous conſent of the upper houſe, appointed to examine a book called "The Catechiſm;" but whether it was Nowell's, as is moſt likely, or ſome other, is not ſaid. After conference about a ſubſidy, the Prolocutor being ſent for, he, with ſix others of that houſe, produced the book of Articles, before ſent from the biſhops, and now ſubſcribed by ſome of the members of the lower houſe, requeſting, with the conſent of that houſe, that all, who had not yet ſubſcribed, might be obliged to do ſo, either publicly in their own houſe, or, on refuſal, before the biſhops;

whereupon it was unanimouſly ordered, that the Prolocutor ſhould, in the next ſeſſion, deliver in the names of all thoſe, who continued to withhold their ſubſcription. At the time appointed, which was five days afterwards, ſome had complied, and ſome had not; ſo the former order was repeated, and thoſe who had hitherto demurred, no doubt, ſubſcribed; for the title to the Articles, as they were ſoon after publiſhed, expreſſes, that they were "agreed upon by the archbiſhops and biſhops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the year 1562."

A ſubſidy and matters of diſcipline now engaged the attention of the Convocation; after which, on the third of March, the Prolocutor, with Sampſon, dean of Chriſt Church, and Day, provoſt of Eton, preſented to the upper houſe a book called "*Catechiſmus puerorum*;" to which, they ſaid, all the members of the lower houſe had unanimouſly given their conſent; and they left the book with their Lordſhips; and there, unfortunately, it remained without further notice; for, as far as appears, nothing was from this time concluded, either on the ſubject of diſcipline, though diligently proſecuted by both

houſes, or on any other. And on the 14th of April the convocation was prorogued, by virtue of a writ from the crown.

Of the Catechiſm, which thus obtained the ſanction of the lower houſe, and was by them ſubmitted to the upper, we ſhall have occaſion to inquire more hereafter. With reſpect to the Articles of religion, reviſed and ſettled by this Convocation, the alterations made in them, without departing, unleſs perhaps in a ſingle point, from the ſenſe or ſubſtance of Edward VIth's Articles, were more numerous and more important, than will, without exact compariſon, eaſily be believed, or has been diſtinctly noted by thoſe, who have compared them. The Deſcent into hell, an article that occaſioned great diſpute in thoſe days and long afterwards, which before was limited to one doubtful if not erroneous ſenſe [i], was now left in the general expreſſion of the Apoſtles' creed, as that is grounded on an equally comprehenſive text of Scripture.

[i] Applying to the Deſcent the text of 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. The wiſe archbiſhop Parker cancelled this clauſe, and moſt of the alterations ſeem to have been made by him; as appears by a copy of Edw. VIth's Articles marked by his hand. Strype's Annals, vol. i. chap. xxviii. By whom the new Articles (namely v. xii. xxix. xxx.) were framed, does not appear.

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Six or ſeven [k] articles, chiefly negative, condemning errors, then perhaps leſs rife than in Edward's days, were ſtruck out; four new articles were added, with ſeveral material clauſes in others, and the whole compreſſed and rendered more clear, and more nearly conformable to the language of Scripture.

During this convocation the ſecond book of Homilies, to which the Articles refer, was prepared among the biſhops, reviſed, and finiſhed; though it was not yet publiſhed, but, as Strype ſays [l], lay till the next year before the Queen, for her confirmation.

Various other matters of inferior magnitude, though in themſelves not unimportant, were likewiſe debated in this convocation. It was thought deſirable to reſtore the juriſdiction of the Ordinary over the ſites of monaſteries and other peculiars, within their ſeveral dioceſes; to deviſe ſome ſharper laws againſt ſimony and adultery; and to contrive means for the augmentation of ſmall vicarages. But on theſe and ſimilar points, ſome of them in-

[k] Seven in fact; but the ſubſtance of one (xix Edw. VI.) that "all men are bound to keep the Moral Commandments of the Law," was added to the Article concerning the Old Teſtament (VIth of 1552, VIIth of 1562) "Although" &c.

[l] Annals i. 346.

terfering with private property, others delicate, and all of them difficult, nothing was done.

Rites and ceremonies alſo were warmly agitated, particularly in the lower houſe; where Nowell, the prolocutor, and his brother, the Dean of Lichfield, with about thirty more, chiefly ſuch as had been abroad in the late troubles, propoſed that ſome other long garment ſhould be uſed inſtead of the ſurplice, or that the miniſter ſhould, in time of divine ſervice, uſe the ſurplice only; that the ſign of the croſs ſhould be omitted in baptiſm, and that kneeling at the holy Communion ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the Ordinary; that ſaints' days ſhould be abrogated, and organs removed [m]. But others, and the prevailing party, would allow of no alterations in the liturgy or rules of Edward the ſixth's ſervice book (knowing the wiſdom, deliberation, and piety, with which it had

[m] Strype gives a petition to the upper houſe, ſigned by Nowell and thirty one more; and then ſix articles, on which the houſe divided, 58 for them, and 59 againſt them; many being, deſignedly as it ſeems, abſent. This was Feb. 13. He introduces the petition *firſt*, but without date. Is it not likely to have been after the other had been carried againſt them? Ann. i. 335—339.

been framed) as it was already received and enforced by the authority of parliament, in the firſt year of the Queen.

On the day when the convocation was prorogued, being the wedneſday in Eaſter week, Nowell preached the third Spital ſermon; which, with the two former, was repeated according to cuſtom, on the ſunday following, by Bradbridge, dean of Saliſbury, afterwards promoted to the ſee of Exeter. The monday's ſermon was by Horn, biſhop of Wincheſter, who took occaſion to mention the condition of the poor French Proteſtants, who had fled from perſecution in their own country; and he raiſed ſuch compaſſion for them, in the breaſts of the auditors, that a handſome ſum was immediately collected for their relief [n].

The perſecution in France, by which not fewer than a hundred thouſand Proteſtants were cut off, in leſs than ſix months [o], was not the only evil, which oppreſſed that unhappy country. The plague (as ſaid above [p]) alſo raged there, and from thence was communicated to England, where it firſt waſted

[n] Strype's Ann. i. 377.

[o] Heylin's Reform. p. 323.

[p] See above, p. 87.

the metropolis, and then the country [q]. In this ſevere affliction, the piety of the biſhop of London ſuggeſted to him the propriety of preparing "common prayers," for the benefit of his dioceſe; and he alſo deſired the Dean of St. Paul's "to write an homily meet for the time," which was accordingly done; but upon the motion of Cecil, and "by help of Mr. Dean, who was luckily with him" when the Secretary's letters came, he proceeded further, and drew up a form of prayer for general uſe, ſending to the Secretary a copy of what was done, before the homily was "fair written; but of that," he ſays, "ye cannot doubt, knowing the Author [r]."

The form of prayer, having been reviſed and corrected by Cecil and by the archbiſhop (who wiſhed the collects had been ſhorter [s]) was ſet forth by the Queen's ſpecial commandment, July 30, 1563, to be uſed twice a week, with an order of public faſt, to be uſed every wedneſday, during this time of morta-

[q] Haddoni Epp. p. 281. 283. 285. 294. 296. Strype's L. of Sir T. Smith, p. 88.

[r] Grindal to Cecil, from Fulham, July 30, 1563. Burghley MSS. vol. vi. No. 63. See alſo Strype's Parker, p. 131—133.

[s] Burghley MS. vi. No. 66. Abp. to Cecil, 6 Aug.

lity [t]: to which the homily was ſubjoined, with this title: "An Homily, concerning the Juſtice of God in punyſhyng of impenitent ſynners, and of hys mercies towards all ſuch as in theyr afflictions vnfaynedly turne vnto hym. Appoynted to be read in the tyme of ſicknes." It is a pathetic and truly Chriſtian diſcourſe, conſiſting of denunciations againſt ſin, exhortations to repentance, and promiſes of mercy, with examples under each head, chiefly from Scripture, the author rightly judging "it neceſſary that we ſhould be inſtructed by the doctrine of God's word;" and he concludes with a common form, expreſſed in an eaſy and yet not a common way: "Unto whom [our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt] with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, one eternal majeſty of the moſt glorious God, be all honour glory and dominion, world without end. Amen."

The biſhop, "having left the book in ſome readineſs," with inſtructions to the printer to

[t] Lambeth Library, 30. 3. 17. See alſo Ames by Herbert, p. 721. It was reprinted, as "neceſſarie to be uſed at this time in like viſitation, July, 1593." ib. 1086. Aſcham mentions the "great plague at London, 1563," in the preface to his Schoolmaſter, p. 191. ed. Bennet.

wait upon the Secretary with it, "ſet forward for Farnham, carrying Mr. Dean with him [u]" the next day, which was the ſecond of Auguſt. During that month the plague ſwept away in the metropolis about a thouſand ſouls a week [x]; and in the enſuing month, an earthquake, felt in different parts, increaſed the general alarm and conſternation [y]. As the cold weather ſet in, the number of deaths abated greatly; and towards the end of January came forth a form of Thankſgiving, by the biſhop of London, to be uſed in his dioceſe, and by others at their diſcretion [z].

A very elegant little volume, now one of the ſcarceſt in the Engliſh language, conſiſting of Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets, written by Barnabe Googe, came out about this time. One of the ſonnets, ſuperior, as the reſt are, in point of harmony to moſt of the productions of thoſe days, is addreſſed to

[u] Burghley MS. vi. No. 65. Aug. 1. Grindal to Cecil, who, no doubt, knew the occaſion of his going (as he ſpeaks of it with ſo much eaſe, "I ſet forward to morrow" &c.) whether it was to Farnham in Eſſex, or Farnham in Surrey, which does not appear.

[x] Strype's Ann. i. 434.

[y] Stow's Summ. p. 615.

[z] Ames by Herbert, p. 721.

Alexander Nowell; in which the poet makes Apollo and the Muſes rejoice at the ſucceſs of his ſtudies, but chiefly commends him for employing his time in the "ſacred ſchools" of theology [a]. The Author ſeems to be the ſame Barnaby Googe, who was a relation and retainer to Sir William Cecil [b], and at this time Gentleman Penſioner to the Queen [c]; and is probably the ſame, who tranſlated into Engliſh the popiſh Kingdom, or reign of Antichriſt, written in Latin verſe by Naogeorgius,

[a] Signat. E. 5. b. ſmall 8vo. black letter. Mr. Warton mentions theſe Sonnets in his notes on the Fairie Queen, i. 219. and Hiſt. Poet. iii. 449—459. where he obſerves (p. 451.) that Googe in 1563 noted, that Iſaiah wrote in verſe. The book was publiſhed that year, in the abſence of his "deare frend M. Googe," by L. Blundeſton, whoſe addreſs to the reader is dated, "From my Chambre the .xxvii. of Maye. 1562." It is dedicated, "To the ryght worſhipfull M. Will. Louelace, Eſquier, Reader of Grayes Inne." A very neat copy in red Ruſſia, gilt, in the poſſeſſion of Richard Heber, Eſquire, was bought at the ſale of Mr. Steevens's Library. No other copy is known to exiſt, but one in Mr. Capell's Shakſperiana, in the Library of Trinity college, Cambridge. The curious reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the lines on Nowell, as a ſpecimen from a volume ſo extremely rare. They are therefore printed in the Appendix, No. v.

[b] "Wherein ye write for your coſyn and ſervant Bernaby Goge" &c. Abp. Parker to Cecil, 20 Nov. 1563. Burghley MS. vi. No. 81.

[c] Strype's Parker, p. 144.

and four books of Huſbandry from the Latin of Hereſbachius[d]; the father perhaps of Barnaby Googe, maſter of Magdalen college, Cambridge, who was incorporated at Oxford in Auguſt 1605, when King James was there; and afterwards, being engaged in a ſuit of great property in behalf of his college, and, from his high ſpirit and knowledge of the laws, confident of ſucceſs, was caſt in chancery, and lay long in priſon, for not obeying the order of Lord Chancellor Egerton[e].

Harding's Anſwer to Jewell, printed at Lovain, was brought over into England in the beginning of this ſummer; and a copy of it falling into Nowell's hands, he, when he was preaching at the croſs, four days afterwards[f], read ſome paſſages of it, and confuted them in the pulpit; laying open to his auditors certain notable untruths and abſurdities; willing them, by that example, to give leſs credit to the reſt. And he had good reaſon for

[d] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 171.

[e] Fuller's Hiſt. Cam. 121.

[f] 4. S. after Eaſter, 1564. Strype's Ann. i. 451. Nowell himſelf, in a ſermon which will be noticed preſently, ſays, Harding's book had not fallen into his hands "paſt three days, and rather two days than three," when he thus animadverted upon it.

this, as he ſaid, becauſe the papiſts, who had not read the book, in corners magnified it above the ſtars: whereby, as he ſuggeſted, he did in effect give neighbours warning to beware of a thief. And, before the year went round, he gave ſimilar warning at the ſame place, reſpecting another anſwerer of Jewell, proteſting in a ſermon at the croſs, November 19, that "there was not one true word in maſter Dorman's book, lately brought over from beyond the ſeas[g]."

The emperor Ferdinand dying in autumn this year, it was reſolved that his funeral ſhould be honourably celebrated in St. Paul's cathedral; which was accordingly performed at the Queen's coſt, with great ſplendor, the ceremony laſting three days[h]. The Dean aſſiſted in theſe ſolemnities, the lords and great officers of ſtate being the mourners; and the biſhop of London made ſo good and diſcreet a ſermon on the occaſion, that it was determined it ſhould be printed, as it was delivered by the preacher, and tranſlated into Latin by the ready and elegant pen of John Fox.

[g] Stow's MS. Collections. Lambeth MS. Libr. 306.

[h] Oct. 1—3. 1564. Strype's Ann. i. 455. L. of Grindal, p. 99. Stow's Chron. 658.

The free School at Tunbridge in Kent, founded by Sir Andrew Judd, Skinner, Alderman and lord Mayor of London, in the fourth year of Edward VI.[i] ſeems hitherto not to have been furniſhed with rules. The Skinners' Company therefore, patrons of the ſchool, cauſed certain articles to be drawn up, which they ſubmitted to the correction of the Dean of St. Paul's[k]. He accordingly peruſed and corrected them, and under his own hand ſignified his approbation of them; whereupon the Company laid the corrected copy before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in whoſe dioceſe the ſchool was, requeſting his Grace to peruſe and ſubſcribe the rules, already peruſed and ſubſcribed by "The Deane of Powles." Eraſmus and Aſcham, men of profound learning and placid manners, were both of them advocates for a gentle and humane mode of education[l]. The good Dean of St. Paul's, of ſimilar erudition and congenial ſpirit, alſo approved of mild diſcipline, as his emendations, all on the ſide of lenity, evince[m]. One injunc-

[i] Baker's Chron. 1733. p. 313.

[k] MS. Parker cviii. No. 64. p. 403—413. May 12. 6 Eliz. (1564.) And ſee Haſted's Kent, ii. p. 346, 347.

[l] Knight's Colet, p. 175.

[m] A ſingle inſtance may be given. One of the rules was, that

tion, on a point of higher moment, he judged fit to be added, that all the ſcholars, upon the ſabbath and holidays, ſhould reſort in due time to divine ſervice, in the pariſh church, attended by the maſter or uſher, one or both.

Henry Fiſher, citizen of London and Skinner, who was feoffee with the founder, and after his deceaſe conveyed the eſtates to the Skinners' Company, endowed a ſcholarſhip in Braſen Noſe college, in 1562, the ſcholar to be elected by the Skinners' Company from Tunbridge ſchool. The ſon of the ſaid Fiſher endeavouring to impeach the conveyances of the eſtates, the endowment of the ſchool was ſettled and confirmed by act of parliament, in the year 1572 [n]. The two firſt ſchoolmaſters of Tunbridge, John Proctor [o], who ſeems to

no "remedy for playe" ſhould be allowed "above ffower tymes in the yere." The Dean wrote in the margin, "Leave to play once a weke may well be borne with." The word "remedy" in this ſenſe occurs in dean Colet's ſtatutes of St .Paul's, dated 1518. (Knight's Colet, p. 362.) "I will alſo that they ſhall have no *remedyes*." It is the appropriate term, I underſtand, at Wincheſter for a half-holiday, or remiſſion of part of the daily buſineſs of the ſchool.

[n] May 8. MS. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 413. Dewes' Journals, p. 219.

[o] "A ſlender hiſtorical account of Wiat's rebellion (12mo. Lond. 1555) was ſet out by John Proctor, Schoolmaſter of Tun-

have taught there in the reign of queen Mary, and John Stockwood [p], who was probably the firſt maſter on the new foundation, were both of them writers.

But to return to Nowell: It was not only his general character, as a man of judgement and learning, but the memory of his fame, as Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, that made his reviſion and approbation of the rules of this and other ſeminaries, eſtabliſhed in his time [q], to be ſo much deſired. And, upon the ſame ground, his friend the Archbiſhop, who was now founding a ſchool at Rachdale in Lancaſhire, an appropriation belonging to the ſee of Canterbury, requeſted the ſanction of his name, together with that of Cox, biſhop of Ely, preceptor to Edward the ſixth, and Horn, biſhop of Wincheſter; who accordingly ſub-

bridge, perhaps the only particular hiſtory of this [Q. Mary's] reign." Hiſt. Libr. p. 66.

[p] A ſermon at Paules croſs on Barthlmew day, 1578, on Acts x. 1—10. by John Stockwood, Scholemaiſter of Tunbridge, and ded. to the Skinners Company. Ames, 982. "An Addition to the proues of Scripture noted in maſter Deeringes Catechiſme," by the ſame, "miniſter and preacher at Tunbridge, 1583." ib. 1098. A ſhort Catechiſm for Houſeholders, by the ſame, "Scholemaiſter of Tunbridge," 1587. ib. 1100. See alſo 1032.

[q] Particularly, as I am informed, of the Grammar School at Bangor in Carnarvonſhire; but thoſe ſtatutes I have not ſeen.

ſcribed the original endowment, on the firſt day of the new year, 1564-5; and were preſent alſo at the delivery of the charter and title deeds, to James Wouldfenden, clothier, and John Warbarton, merchant, both of Rachdale, proxies for the pariſh, June 18, 1571[r].

It was his misfortune to offend the Queen in his ſermon on Aſh wedneſday, preached before her Majeſty at Weſtminſter this year[s]. Some "lewd," and in many places "unhoneſt" or immodeſt, book, had lately come out, which the writer was "not abaſhed to dedicate to his moſt gracious ſovereign, *et Principi et Virgini*." The Dean therefore was moved by this "unreverent impudency of the author," and by his own "due reverence to his gracious ſovereign," to ſhew at once his "miſliking of the book, and of the judgement of ſome (as he thought) undiſcreet ſubjects," who were pleaſed with it. The author, as it ſeems, had defended ſome of the ſuperſtitious books and cuſtoms of popery, which the preacher condemned; but going one ſtep too

[r] MS. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 444. Strype's Parker, p. 182. 523.

[s] 7 March, 1564-5. Stow's MSS. Lambeth Library, No. 306. Stow calls him "Maſter Newalle Deane of Powles." Compare note m. p. 19.

far, and expreſſing ſome diſlike of the ſign of the croſs[t], the Queen called aloud to him from her cloſet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digreſſion, and to return to his text. The worthy Dean was ſo diſtreſſed and "utterly diſmayed" with this unexpected rebuke, that the archbiſhop, who appears to have been one of his auditors, "for pure pity took him home to dinner with him;" as he informed the Secretary Cecil the next day[u]. The Dean himſelf alſo, on that day, wrote to Cecil, explaining, as here ſtated, the true reaſon of his adverting to the book in queſtion, "which though it fell out ſomewhat otherwiſe, than he, ſo long accuſtomed to his Sovereign's gracious patience with him, could well foreſee; yet, what error ſoever was admitted in the utterance thereof, he enjoyed the teſtimony of ſound doctrine, and the con-

[t] I have given this as others have reported it; but it would ſeem from Nowell's own account, that it was not the ſign of the croſs, but either the crucifix (which remained for ſome time in the Queen's chapel, Strype's Ann. i. 176.) or other images, that were the object of his cenſure. For he ſays, "My tranſition was from Dame Grace's books burned, to Images, termed the Books of Ideots, which I took as not altogether impertinent." Letter to Cecil, March 8, 1564–5. Burghley MS. viii. No. 5. Strype's Parker, p. 160. App. p. 52. Heylin's Reform. p. 296.

[u] Burghley MS. viii. No. 2.

ſcience of a good intent, and moſt humble reverence towards his moſt gracious Sovereign[x]."

It is probable, the Secretary, Nowell's conſtant friend, took occaſion to lay the truth of the matter before the Queen, and to intercede in his behalf; but it appears to have been ſome time before he was entirely reſtored, or at leaſt known to be reſtored, to her Majeſty's favourable opinion and good liking. For when the archbiſhop, in January following, was "deviſing for Lent preachers," he was apprehenſive he ſhould "fail of divers, fearing the like ſequel of reproof," which had befallen the Dean, whom he wiſhed to be one; but being aware, that he would "hardly be intreated to occupy the place, if her Majeſty ſhould not like, after her accuſtomed manner, to favour him, and to give him hearing," he wiſhed the Secretary could underſtand her Highneſs' inclination, that he might accordingly move the Dean, whom he had, partly with that view, invited to dine with him[y]. In the end however he appears to have been excuſed preaching this Lent, though not, as

[x] Ibid. No. 5. Strype's Parker, App. p. 52.

[y] Abp. to Cecil, 29 Jan. 1565–6. Burghley MS. viii. No. 74.

Strype ſuppoſed [z], on account of the paſt diſpleaſure of the Queen (and yet perhaps the rather on that account) but becauſe he had long before prayed to be diſcharged, "for that he was thoroughly occupied againſt Dorman [a]."

Trivial diſputes are often powerful agents in diſturbing public as well as private repoſe. It is marvellous and humiliating to think how warmly the matter of canonical habiliments, the ſurplice, ſquare cap, and hoods, was about this time and long afterwards conteſted; notwithſtanding it was admitted, by thoſe who were moſt vehement in oppoſing the uſe of them, that they were in themſelves perfectly indifferent; and that it was expedient that a long robe, different from the common dreſs, ſhould be worn by the clergy, when attending divine ſervice. The archbiſhop, prudent gentle and patient, took infinite pains in this buſineſs, weighing and debating the ſubject in every point of view; not only with ſeveral of his brethren the biſhops, and other dignitaries of the church, but likewiſe with Sampſon, dean of Chriſt

[z] Strype's Parker, p. 202.

[a] Abp. to Cecil, 26 Feb. (1565-6.) Burghley MS. viii. No. 80.

Church, and Humphry, preſident of Magdalen college, Oxford, both of them exiles in Mary's days, two of the moſt eminent in talents and ſtation, of thoſe who refuſed the habits [b]. The Dean of St. Paul's alſo laboured the point, and framed what his Grace called "Mr. Nowell's pacification;" in which he propoſed, that the general uſe of the eccleſiaſtical veſtures ſhould be continued, but with a proteſtation, that it was deſirable ſuch diſtinction of apparel ſhould be taken away; for ſeveral reaſons, particularly theſe; to ſhew more fully their deteſtation of that corrupt and ſuperſtitious church, in which they had been abuſed; for fear leſt they ſhould be again abuſed; and to remove diſſenſion among the brethren [c]. No alteration however was made, nor deviation permitted; and though Sampſon choſe to quit his deanery, rather than comply; yet Humphry, as one obſerved of him, became "conformable in the end, as he grew riper in experience, and ſager in judgement [d]." Whittingham alſo, dean of Durham, another who imported with him from abroad much of the leaven of Geneva,

[b] Strype's Parker, 162—173.

[c] Strype's Parker, 173.

[d] Gab. Harvey in Ath. Oxon. i. 242.

and was zealous in non-conformity (ſecretly abetted therein by his patron the Earl of Leiceſter [e]) yielded at laſt, however reluctantly, to wear the habits [f]. As for Nowell, he not only wore them orderly and punctually, enjoined as they were by legal authority, but likewiſe, as we have ſeen, voluntarily ſtepped forward, in reviſing the rules of Tunbridge ſchool, to enforce a kindred ordinance, commonly oppoſed by thoſe who oppoſed the habits, that the ſaints' days ſhould be kept [g], as well as ſundays.

[e] See a letter by him to the Earl on this ſubject in 1564. Strype's Parker, p. 156. App. p. 43.

[f] Strype, ib. 157. Ath. Oxon. i. 195. Whittingham, who was born in the city of Cheſter, was educated in Braſen Noſe college; afterwards became fellow of All Souls, and then ſtudent of Chriſt Church. He probably was firſt tinctured with puritaniſm at Geneva, where he reſided ſome time in the reign of Edward VI. He tranſlated the 119th and fourteen other pſalms, inſcribed W. W. though the initials vary a little in ſome early editions. He was alſo the principal tranſlator of the Geneva Bible.

[g] See above, p. 108. and his Reproof of Dorman, f. 16.

SECTION VI.

FIVE years had now elapſed, ſince Jewell's famous challenge, in his ſermon at Paul's croſs [h], ſtartled the Engliſh papiſts at home and abroad. Raſtell, who had been a fellow of New College, and in the year of the challenge fled to Lovain, was the firſt that publicly appeared in the liſts againſt the challenger, with a Confutation of the ſermon, and other things [i]. Harding, who had been fellow of the ſame college, and in the reign of Edward the ſixth, being chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and ſtrenuous for the reformation, endeavoured to prepare men for the perſecution which was apprehended [k], but in Mary's days revolted to popery, next came out with his Confutation of Jewell's Apology; and was followed by Dorman, who had alſo been edu-

[h] See above, p. 49.

[i] Heylin's Reform. p. 302. 346. Ath. Oxon. i. 306.

[k] Vita Juel. p. 138—142. Heylin ut ſupra. Ath. Oxon. i. 175. See a long letter to Harding on his lapſing to popery, by Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, in Fox, vol. ii. p. 1420. Of which alſo ſee Strype's Aylmer, p. 11.

cated in the ſame college, afterwards fellow of All Souls, and now beyond ſeas, adhering to popery.

Jewell prepared an anſwer to Harding; but a number of other books, as it were darts, being in the mean time directed at his head, moſt of them ſuch as he, if he had leiſure, would never anſwer, but by contempt, and yet if not anſwered, they might ſeem to be let alone as being unanſwerable; Nowell therefore, in the cauſe which was common to all (for they who aſſailed the Biſhop only by name, endeavoured through his ſides to thruſt all through the heart) reſolved, for the ſatisfying of the ſimple and repreſſing of the inſolent, to ſay ſomewhat to ſome one of theſe books; and to Mr. Dorman's rather than any other, as it came abroad next in order after Dr. Harding's.

Dorman's book is intitled, "A Proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr. Jewell." It was dedicated to Harding, and with good reaſon, as Nowell ſays, the author having borrowed from him "authorities and reaſons ready framed to his hands," with others from Hoſius, whom Harding alſo in many places had literally tranſlated. This, which he diſcovered more and more as he proceeded, had

he underſtood at the firſt, and that the Biſhop of Sarum in anſwering the maſter muſt needs anſwer the ſcholar alſo, their reaſons being the ſame, he would have waited till the Biſhop's anſwer had come abroad in print; and would then no otherwiſe have anſwered it, but by noting in what places of the Biſhop's anſwer to Harding, every place of Dorman was anſwered, himſelf directly anſwering ſuch things as were peculiar to Dorman. But having taken the book in hand, he was the more careful to anſwer the reaſons alleged in it, not as being the reaſons of Dorman, but of Harding, of Eckius, Pighius, and Hoſius, and of all that had written for the pope's ſupremacy. Another and moſt weighty cauſe, why he uſed ſuch diligence and prolixity, was, becauſe Dorman, though a weak aſſailant and ſlender reaſoner, was a great liar and venomous calumniator; who had ſlandered his country, the laws, and his ſovereign, at home and abroad. "Wherefore, ſays he, I thought it ſhould become me not ſlenderly to eſteem the honour of my prince, my duty to my country, and to the laws of the realm; but with earneſtneſs to repel ſuch reproaches, as M. Dorman hath attempted to blemiſh them withal." A third reaſon for his an-

ſwering more at large was, that the ſimple and unlearned readers have often beſt liking in books more boldly than learnedly written, and are moſt in danger to credit moſt lewd and ſlanderous lies; inſomuch that a great many, for the commendation of theſe virtues, preferred the ſcholar before the maſter, M. Dorman before Dr. Harding. He therefore endeavoured to adapt his anſwer to thoſe of mean underſtanding, to whom the guileful dealings of the papiſts cannot with brevity be made manifeſt [1].

The points, which Dorman undertook to prove againſt Jewell's negative, were, That the Biſhop of Rome is the head of Chriſt's univerſal church here in earth, and was, within the firſt ſix hundred years, ſo called and taken; That tranſubſtantiation (not the name, but the doctrine) was then taught; That the communion was then miniſtered under one kind; and maſs ſaid, although there were none to receive with the prieſt. On the firſt of theſe points, where Harding had profeſſed brevity, Dorman amplified his matter, conſidering it to be, as in truth it is, the very foundation of all true religion (as he

[1] Pref. to the Reader.

called it) that is, of all popery. On this therefore Nowell was full in his anſwer, and he publiſhed this part firſt. The dedication and preface, as containing nothing material to the queſtion, he omits; but of the treatiſe itſelf he tranſcribes and anſwers the whole, paragraph by paragraph; a method the moſt fair and reaſonable, which was afterwards adopted by Whitgift in his anſwer to Cartwright.

It will eaſily be ſuppoſed, that Dorman fails to prove that, of which there is neither proof, nor ſhadow of proof, in the Scriptures, or the fathers; but that he may ſeem to ſay ſomething, he corrupts and miſapplies a variety of paſſages: which deceitful dealing cauſed Nowell to ſay, before a public auditory, when the book firſt came over, "that he had not found any one authority by him (as far as then he had read) truly alleged[m]." Where the queſtion, as it ſtands in Dorman's page, has the moſt plauſible appearance, it is found, on examination, to be merely this: what St. Cyprian and others ſay of deacons and other miniſters ſubmitting to their *own* proper biſhop, at Carthage, at Alexandria, or

[m] Reproof, f. 10. And ſee above, p. 106.

other places (which implies, what the ſame fathers often expreſsly teach, that all biſhops are equal, each head of his own peculiar dioceſe) this Dorman has the effrontery to aſſume and apply, as if it were ſpoken of ſubmiſſion to the biſhop of *Rome*.

Nowell's Reproof is dated 30 May, 1565 [n]; and in little more than a month (July 13.) came out a ſecond impreſſion [o], in which, as he ſays, "there is nothing altered from the firſt, ſauing onely that M. Dorman's euyll handlyng of the auncient Doctours is, in ſome places, more at large explicated; and that ſome part of Mr. Dorman's treatie, ſomewhere before diuided, is now for the more perſpicuitie and plaineneſſe ioyned togeather." Both impreſſions are very neat, but the ſecond, as well in point of typography as paper,

[n] Penes me. There is written in it, "Sum Thomæ Beulei, anno 1565. pr. 18 D." Afterwards it belonged to the Lord North, whoſe elegant but very peculiar ſignature, "R. North," together with his maxim or motto, "DVRVM PATI 70" (i. e. 1570) appears on the title-page. See two later autographs of his, one in 1575. MS. Burghley xxi. No. 44. the other in 1591. ib. lxviii. No. 9.

[o] In the Library of Braſen Noſe College. Strype ſeems only to have ſeen this ſecond impreſſion, and to have miſtaken it for the firſt, as he ſays (L. of Parker, p. 180.) it came out July 13, which is the date of the ſecond impreſſion.

has the advantage; particularly as the quotations, Italic in the firſt, are here Roman, which aſſimilates better with the black letter, in which both are printed.

The works, which the divines iſſued from their ſeminaries abroad, were for the moſt part "by common conference elaborated, at convenient opportunity to be put in print[p];" and it was alſo ſuppoſed in the caſe of Dorman, that he derived conſiderable aſſiſtance from the papers of Dr. Richard Smith, to whom he was executor: ſo before the year ended, he printed at Antwerp a "Diſproof of Nowell's Reproof," confidently and in direct words charging his adverſary with no leſs than eighty two lies.

The manner of theſe two controverſialiſts was in itſelf no obſcure indication of the nature of the cauſe, which they ſeverally maintained. Nowell, as we have ſeen, candid and ſincere, tranſcribed in his Reproof Dorman's entire book; ſo that the reader, having the whole fairly laid before him, might be able to judge, whether the anſwer was ſatisfactory, and which of the parties had truth on his ſide. Dorman, on the con-

[p] Nowell to the Reader.

trary, ſcarcely quoted a ſingle ſentence fairly from Nowell, but picked out what he pleaſed, and omitted what he did not care to meddle with; and by darkening what was plain, and confounding things that were diſtinct; by adding, altering, corrupting, and falſifying, he kept up an appearance of conteſt, and boaſted of victory, while he was combating a ſhadow.

In 1566 Nowell publiſhed the Continuation of his Reproof, "with a defence of the chief Authority and Government of Chriſtian Princes, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, within their own dominions, by Mr. Dorman maliciouſly oppugned." And in the following year came out his ſecond book in this controverſy, intitled "A Confutation as well of Mr. Dorman's laſt book, intitled a Diſcourſe &c. as alſo of Dr. Sanders's cauſes of Tranſubſtantiation: whereby our countrymen (ſpecially the ſimple and unlearned) may underſtand, how ſhamefully they are abuſed by thoſe and like Books, pretended to be written for their inſtruction [q]." This caution, or warning to the unlearned, refers to the confident aſſertions, evaſive arts, and palpable

[q] By Binneman, 1567. Braſen Noſe College Library.

falſifications, before noted in Dorman, but common to him with moſt of his party; againſt which it was his wiſh to put his readers upon their guard. As he had, in the firſt part of his Reproof, amply evinced the pretended ſupremacy of the Pope to be without foundation, he enlarged, in his Continuation, as the title promiſed, upon the ſequel to it, the ſovereignty of the civil power; and anſwered other ſubordinate points in a more ſummary way. But in the Confutation, being a diſtinct work, he proceeded as before, paragraph by paragraph; and alſo ſpared his readers much trouble, by not ſparing himſelf, drawing up a table, which ſhewed in one column allegations of the fathers, in nine and twenty places at leaſt, tranſcribed by Dorman from Harding, and another column of references to the anſwers to them, by Jewell againſt Harding, or by Nowell himſelf; and another table of pilferings from Hoſius, and the anſwers to them alſo, by Jewell, or Nowell.

Of this work it is to be remembered, that, as Strype truly obſerves, it is not to be regarded as containing the mature learning and judgement of Nowell only, but likewiſe of ſeveral "other great and wiſe men," by

whom it was well weighed and conſidered, particularly the biſhop of London, and the Secretary of ſtate. The former ſaw the ſheets, as the author finiſhed them; and ſo did the Secretary, at leaſt many of them, and occaſionally corrected and added to them. This we may collect from a letter of the Dean, wherein he "thanks his Honour for the peruſing of his papers; which he ſent again written out, unto him; for ſo my Lord of London ſaid was your Honour's pleaſure." He ſent him "half a dozen leaves or more, and would be much bounden to his Honour, in caſe he would overſee that part, containing an anſwer to Calvin, by overſight uncomely and untruly writing of Henry the eighth, and the title of Supreme Head, which Dorman had laid to our charge." He added, that "the printer called upon him, and that he had no cauſe to ſtay, but the lack of intelligence of his Honour's judgement upon that part[r]."

When he was employed upon theſe works, probably the Confutation, where he anſwers Sanders on tranſubſtantiation, he had occaſion to conſult Innocent the third and Scotus,

[r] "Too the right honorable and my vere good frend, S[r] Wyllyam Cicill knight, Secretarie to the Quenes Ma[tie]." 1 April (1566.) Burghley MS. ix. No. 42. Strype's Ann. i. 541.

in whoſe judgement, contrary to the doctrine of modern Rome, the form of conſecration in the euchariſt conſiſts, not in the words, "*Hoc eſt corpus meum*," but in ſome bleſſing going before; and having been told by the biſhop of London, that the archbiſhop had theſe books, he ſaid, "I wolde reſorte to your Grace ſumtyme this day to be certified herof; for I dare truſt noe reporte of the places of authors, unles I doe my-ſelfe ſee the originalls, ſuche wranglers have I to doe with, and ſoe vnſure are men's notes of the places of the authors, by their faulte, or the printers [s]."

The meek and learned Jewell, about the ſame time, manifeſted ſimilar anxiety in point of correctneſs; but his own printed work being the object of his care, he expreſſed himſelf with ſtill greater emphaſis: "I beſeeche your Grace to geeue ſtraite order, that the Latine Apologie be not printed againe, in any caſe, before either your Grace, or ſomme other haue wel peruſed it. I am afraide of printers. Theire tyrannie is terrible [t]."

[s] MS. Parker cxiv. p. 913.

[t] "From my poore houſe in Sariſburie, 3 Maii, 1568. Your Graces moſt humble, Jo. Sar." MS. Parker, ib. p. 457.

Theſe anecdotes, though ſlight in themſelves, the attentive reader will not deem altogether unintereſting or unimportant, as they ſhew, in the undiſguiſed intercourſe of confidential friends, how ſolicitous the perſons, to whom, under God, we in great meaſure owe the final reformation of our Church, were "*ut veritas ipſa limaretur in diſputatione*," that genuine truth might be fully known, and accurately expreſſed.

Bringing into one view the whole of this controverſy, we have paſſed by one or two literary matters, which occurred in the mean time.

At the cloſe of the year 1565 Cooper's Theſaurus, or Dictionary of the Latin tongue, was publiſhed. It came out under the auſpices of the great court favourite, the Earl of Leiceſter, Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, to whom it was dedicated; and was graced with a commendatory copy of verſes by Nowell; bidding young men reſpect the author, and avail themſelves of his book, undiſmayed by its bulky appearance; for, large as the volume was, the ſize was not comparable to the value of the work. This was the firſt competent production of the ſort, publiſhed in England, the author having aug-

mented Sir Thomas Elyot's book, with more than thirty thouſand words and phraſes; and it is generally ſaid to have been the chief cauſe of Cooper's preferment [u]; who, from this æra, roſe rapidly in the church. In 1567 he was made Dean of Chriſt Church, and filled the office of Vice Chancellor of the univerſity, in that and the three following years, a term to which, from his time, it has been cuſtomary to continue the office, in itſelf annual; and, from the ſame period alſo, the more ancient name of Commiſſary grew into diſuſe [x]. In 1569 he was made Dean of Glouceſter, Biſhop of Lincoln in 1570, and tranſlated to Winchester in 1584.

If what a very learned and exact author of the laſt century ſays is true, that the Theſaurus of Cooper is in fact little more than a tranſcript of Charles Stephens's Dictionary, printed at Paris in 1553 [y], it was fortunate for the author, that the diſcovery was not made ſooner. But he had at leaſt the merit

[u] Sir J. Harrington, Brief View, 1653. p. 62. who highly commends his learning, induſtry, and "unreprovable" life.

[x] Wood's Faſti, by Gutch, p. 103. This is noticed in his epitaph: "Oxonienſis erat Gloceſtrenſiſque decanus,

Continuus primæ *Vice-Cancellarius* urbis, &c. Strype's Ann. iv. 204.

[y] Biſhop Kennet, L. of Somner, p. 94.

of tranſlating from the French; and, at the ſame time, what Manutius obſerved, on a like occaſion [z], a few years before, is indubitable, that a Dictionary, even of a dead language, never was brought to perfection, but by repeated attempts, and the accumulated induſtry of many ſucceſſive hands.

Nowell preached at the croſs on the 12th of May, 1566; being, I preſume, the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, as the ſermon was on that ſubject, from John xvi. 5, 6. Of this and of ſome other contemporary ſermons, chiefly at the croſs, certain "ſhort and ſummary notes" have been preſerved by ſome attentive auditor, who deemed them "not unprofitable to be remembered [a]." By this, as by other inſtances, it appears, that Nowell's diſcourſes from the pulpit were not, as ſermons ſometimes are, on ſome general topic, having only a faint and diſtant relation to the text prefixed to them, but were, like the homilies of St. Chryſoſtom, expoſitions of Scripture; unfolding the text and the paſſages connected with it: as on this occaſion he explained the verſes

[z] In Ded. of Calepin's Dictionary, 1557. inter Epp. P. Manutii, p. 498. He ſpeaks of Charles Stephens as "veterrimo amico meo, ſpectatæ virtutis et induſtriæ viro." ib. 246.

[a] MS. Tanner, 50. f. 92—94. In Biblioth. Bodl.

which follow the text, and ſpeak of the Holy Spirit reproving the world, being, as he obſerves, "ſomewhat obſcure;" and he alleges, from St. Auguſtine, a reaſon why ſuch obſcurities were permitted, "to ſtir up our diligence."

One expreſſion in this ſermon may deſerve notice, in conſidering the queſtion of the real or ſuppoſed Calviniſm of Nowell; for when he ſays, "It ſhall be more tolerable for them (Tyre &c.) in the day of judgement, than for this *people, which is the elect of God*," it is evident, that he did not reſtrict the election of God to individuals, and alſo that he conceived the elect might periſh.

He preached at the croſs again [b], as the ſame pen informs us, on the 27th of January, upon Romans xii. 15, 16; when, after diſcourſing of charity, peace, and humility, as taught in the text, and dehorting from pride by examples of its puniſhment, he is led to cenſure the pope's flatterers, as more groſs than thoſe of Herod, calling him "their Lord and God;" and then repels their ſlanderous accuſations againſt us for breach of charity, and craves leave to digreſs a little, to notice

[b] MS. Tanner, ut ſupra, f. 70—73.

two books, come over ſince he laſt preached at the ſame place, an anſwer to the Apology of the Engliſh Church, and a Diſproof of his Reproof; wherein Dorman ſaid, he was very raſh in anſwering, on a former occaſion at the croſs [c], certain points in Harding's book before he had read it over. "The truth is, ſaid Nowell, Harding's book came not into my hands paſt three days, and rather two days than three, before I preached here. But alas! if I happened to read there ſome things that were too fond, might I not lawfully give warning of them, ſeeing the book was come into all men's hands almoſt: and if I ſee a fault in a man's behaviour, ſhall I not tell him of it, except I know all the reſt of his life?"

He then, in order that his auditors might ſee Dorman's ſhifting, and take heed to his deceit, read to them certain paſſages from his firſt and ſecond book, where what he alleged in the firſt book, he denied in the ſecond.

In the beginning of the next year [d], the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's granted to Dr. Henry Harvey, "a reverend learned and good man," as one who knew him calls him [e],

[c] In 1564. See above, p. 105.

[d] Feb. 2, 1567–8. Reg. Nowell i. f. 314.

[e] Sir George Buck Kn. Maſter of the Revels, in Stow's Chron.

Maſter of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Dean of the Arches, and to the Fellows of the College of Advocates, a leaſe of their capital meſſuage in Knightrider ſtreet, ſince known by the name of Doctors' Commons; which is memorable, as fixing the date, when the Society of Advocates firſt dwelt together in a permanent and appropriate habitation; and memorable alſo, as ſupplying the names of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, who aforetime had inhabited the houſe; namely, Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, Lord Stanley, Sir John Say knight, the Ducheſs of Richmond, and laſtly the Lord Mountjoy, whence it obtained the name of Mountjoy houſe. Dr. Harvey and the Fellows had been at great expence in taking down and new building the houſe; in conſideration whereof the preſent leaſe was granted to them, for ninety nine years, on the expiration of a leaſe to Sir Thomas Pope in 1555, with a promiſe of renewal during the term, for the fine of 20l[f]. Under this and ſimilar leaſes, the premiſes continued in the

by Howes, 1631, p. 1077. Dr. Harvey was Prebendary of Ely, Precentor of St. Paul's, and Rector of Biſhop's Stortford (Reg. Nowell ii. f. 147. 303. b. iii. 46.)

[f] Reg. Nowell, i. f. 314. And ſee Sketches of Civilians &c. reviewed in Gent. Mag. 1804. 645.

occupation of the Civilians, till they purchaſed the fee ſimple by royal aſſiſtance, and were incorporated by royal charter, in 1768.

In the enſuing part of this year (1568) we find the Dean among his friends in Lancaſhire; where, by his continual preaching in divers parts of the country, he brought many to conformity; and obtained ſingular commendation and praiſe, even of thoſe who had been great enemies to his religion. So Downham, biſhop of Cheſter, who this year viſited his whole dioceſe, and therefore had the better opportunity of informing himſelf, reported the matter to Secretary Cecil; deſiring him to be a means to the Queen, and to her honourable Council, to give the Dean thanks for his great pains, taken among his countrymen [g].

On his return to London he had to witneſs an afflicting ſcene, in the ſickneſs aud death of his intimate friend, the celebrated Roger Aſcham. With a conſtitution ſubject to attacks of fever, and enfeebled by frequent returns of it [h], he imprudently ſat up late, intent upon finiſhing a copy of verſes, as a new year's gift for the Queen, as well as letters to

[g] Strype's Ann. i. 547.

[h] See his Epp. to Sturmius, L. i. Ep. i. and xiii.

to his friends, and contracted cold, which brought on a dangerous malady in the beginning of December. Nowell often visited him during his illness, and supported and comforted him, by setting before him the sufferings of earth, and the prospect of heaven; but in a strain and manner so divine, that, when he had left the room, the sick man declared with joy, that the excellent Dean had sustained his soul with food that would never die! His disease grew more oppressive; but his rich and happy memory did not forsake him, and he rehearsed, before the Dean and other surrounding friends, a variety of passages, expressive of the mercy and love of God to mankind, and of his blessings bestowed on them.

Gravet, one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's[i], came to him, not, as he said, to instruct him; "for I know you are amply informed on all points,

[i] William Gravet M. A. was presented by the Queen to St. Sepulchre's, 8 Oct. 1566. Newcourt i. 534. collated to the prebend of Willesdon in St. Paul's, July 28, 1567. ib. 229. Rector of Little Laver, Essex, Dec. 3, 1569. on presentation of John Collyns. ib. ii. 370. He was mentioned by the Privy Council in 1582, together with the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Fulk, Dr. Still, Mr. Mullins &c. as a fit person to confer with priests and Jesuits. Strype's Whitg. p. 99.

by the words of that venerable man, Alexander Nowell, and by your own learning; but to adminiſter comfort, and to perform my duty." "I am in great pain, ſaid Aſcham, and my diſorder is heavy; this is my confeſſion, and faith; this my prayer, and all that I long for: *I deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt!*" words, which he had often repeated to Nowell, and they were now the laſt that he ſpoke! He expired on the 30th of December, at the age of not more than fifty three; and was buried in St. Sepulchre's church, on the fourth of January, with this teſtimony to his merit by Nowell, who preached his funeral ſermon: "That he never ſaw or heard of a perſon of greater integrity of life, or that was bleſſed with a more Chriſtian death [k]." He was indeed the pride, and in one reſpect perhaps the ſhame, of the

[k] Grant's L. of Aſcham, pref. to Aſcham's Epp. Oxford 1703, p. 28. With this agrees the elegant elogium of Buchanan on his death:

Extinctum Aſchamum patriæ Graiæque Camœnæ,
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.
Poemata, Amſtel. 1687. p. 371.

See alſo a copy of verſes in return for a book, which Aſcham had ſent him, ib. 359.

days of Elizabeth. In a letter to the Earl of Leiceſter, who had been godfather to one of his ſons, he laments, that, through tedious and expenſive ſuits at law and other difficulties, he had been obliged to ſell his plate, and, that which grieved him much, his wife's poor jewels; and was not very like to live long, nor to leave to his family any thing but beggary. "And yet, ſays he, that poor ſervice that I have done to queen Elizabeth ſhall live ſtill, and never die, as long as her noble hand, and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongues, ſhall be known to the world[l]." But he had learnt the trueſt and beſt philoſophy. On the death of a child (probably their firſt) a ſtroke the more ſevere, as it happened in his abſence, he ſays, in a letter to his wife, "Mine own good Margaret! referring me wholly to the will of God, I found cauſe of joy. You well remember our continual deſire and prayer together. We deſired to be made veſſels to increaſe the world; and it hath pleaſed God to make us veſſels to increaſe heaven[m]!" He who was ſo perfectly

[l] Nugæ Antiq. 1769. vol. i. 148. The letter is dated Apr. 14. 1566.

[m] Ibid. 177. The letter is imperfect and without date. It was firſt conjectured, this might be his ſon Sturmius, of whom he ſays, with exquiſite beauty and pathos, "Nam Sturmius Aſcha-

maſter of this world, was fit, in the divine mercy, to go to a better!

In the ſpace of about a month Nowell ſuſtained a nearer affliction, in the death of his brother Robert Nowell. He had made his will, while the plague was in London, Auguſt 16, 1563, written with his own hand in one of his books in Gray's Inn, "truſting through Chriſt's death to have everlaſting life," and appointing his brothers, Alexander and Laurence Nowell, and his uterine brother John Towneley, his executors. Mindful alſo of the viciſſitudes, which he had ſeen in religion, he intreats his brother Towneley, who was a Roman Catholic, to be kind to his brothers, if the times ſhould again turn to popery.

He was, as already noted [n], the Queen's Attorney General of the Court of Wards, ſo conſtituted by patent for life, February 8, 1561; and by another patent, February 6, 1563, was appointed guardian of Charles Waldegrave, with an allowance of 40l. a year, out of the eſtates of his late father, Sir Edward Walde-

mus vivit ille quidem, ſed nunquam moriturus!" But Sturmius, named after his intimate friend and correſpondent, was his third child. Epiſt. to Sturmius, L. i. Ep. i.

[n] P. 58.

grave, knight, in Somerſetſhire [o]; and had a leaſe from the crown of lands in Cardiganſhire, part of the eſtates of the late Duke of Richmond [p]. He was alſo included in a ſpecial commiſſion, with the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter, Sir William Cecil, and other great officers of State, to audit accounts and correct abuſes in the Queen's houſhold [q]. He was ſteward to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for their lands in the counties of Middleſex and Hertford [r]; and had from them the reverſionary grant of the rectory and great tithes of Tottenham [s]; of which, though he bequeathed the eſtate in his will to his godſon, Robert Caſſie (his ſiſter's grandſon) the Nowells were, for many years, leſſees under the chapter of St. Paul's.

[o] Pat. 5 Eliz. p. 1. Rolls Chapel. Sir Edward Waldegrave was one of the great officers of Mary's court, and a privy Counſellor. His account of the funeral of Edw. VI. has been quoted above, p. 11. n. z. He died in the tower, Apr. 30, 1561. Stype's Ann. i. 267. 270.

[p] Patent 7 Eliz. Nov. 23. (1564.) p. 10. Rolls.

[q] T. R. ap. Weſtm. June 12 (1565.) Rymer xv. 660. He was alſo guardian of Francis Green. Pat. 12 June, 9 Eliz. p. 3. (1567.) Rolls.

[r] Feb. 28. 4 Eliz. (1561–2) Reg. Nowell, i. f. 76.

[s] Ibid. f. 72. Indent. 1 Mar. 4 Eliz.

He ſeems alſo to have purchaſed of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the great Seal, the Manor of Burſton in Hertfordſhire [t]; and was a party in the ſale and conveyance of Gorhambury, and other eſtates in the ſame county, from the ſaid Sir Nicholas Bacon and Anne his wife, to the uſe of Thomas Bacon and his heirs for ever; which being held *in capite*, pardon was granted for entrance and poſſeſſion taken without the previous conſent of the crown [u].

Theſe, among other grants and employments, beſpeak credit and affluence; of which his will ſupplies further and ample proof. Dying unmarried, it was not his wiſh to accumulate wealth on any one, but to be uſeful to many relatives and friends, and kind to the indigent. He accordingly bequeaths to the poor of the pariſh, where he happens to be buried, the ſum of ten pounds; and to the pariſhes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Hendon in Middleſex, and Whalley and Burnley in Lancaſhire, 20 nobles each. The ſum of 4l. for three ſermons, one at his funeral, the other

[t] Sir N. Bacon &c. licence to ſell to R. Nowell, 8 Eliz. p. 4. May 20 (1566.) Rolls.

[u] Pardon of intruſion to R. Nowell, Will. Lovelace, Thomas Bacon and Edw. Cooke Eſquires, for purchaſe Hil. term. 7 Eliz. Pat. 12 Nov. 8 Eliz. (1566.) Rolls.

on the two ſundays following; and 60l. for a dinner and ſupper at his funeral, and for the poor. To his brother Laurence Nowell, dean of Lichfield, his leaſe of Mr. Luſon's lands: his leaſe in Hendon and his houſe and furniture there to James Wolton [x] (a kinſman probably, perhaps brother, of his brother in law, John Wolton, afterwards biſhop of Exeter.) Certain lands in Hertfordſhire to his couſin John Nowell, ſon of Mr. Andrew Nowell, exhorting him to "agree with my Lady, his mother in law." To his couſin William Deane, ſervant to Lady Meltravers, a leaſe of lands in Weyland, a cloak, coat, and doublet, and 10l. in money. To Richard and William Whitaker an annuity of 40l. granted him by Mr. Ralph Leyceſter, out of Mr. Leigh's eſtates in Cheſhire, during Mr. Leigh's minority. Richard Whitaker is to receive immediately, and is adviſed to beſtow the money "in ſome houſe of court, or in getting himſelf ſome good wife, if he can;" but the

[x] In the codicil, to which he is a witneſs, he is called the teſtator's ſervant, and has a legacy of 50l. if he chooſes it in preference to the bequeſt in the will, which, with others, the teſtator did not diſtinctly recollect. His couſins Laurence and Thomas Nowell have alſo 20l. each in the codicil, to which the latter is a ſubſcribing witneſs.

younger brother's ſhare is "to be laid up, and [to be] beſtowed in buying Mr. Bruiſter's wife's daughter, or otherwiſe, as" the teſtator's "brother, Alexander Nowell, ſhall think convenient."

It does not appear, that either of theſe intended matrimonial barters ſucceeded; but his kinſman and legatee, William Deane, ſon of William Deane of Tanworth in Warwickſhire, by a ſiſter of Nowell, without the aid of teſtamentary injunction, married the Lady dowager Maltravers, who enriched him with her immenſe fortune, as heireſs of Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield [y]; and, ſhe dying without iſſue, Mr. Deane married to his ſecond wife Anne daughter of Thomas Egerton, Eſquire, of Ryne hill in Cheſhire, and by her had a ſon John, of whom we ſhall hear more in the latter part of theſe memoirs of his kinſman, the Dean of St. Paul's.

To the ſaid Dean Mr. Nowell bequeathed his ſignet, and as much of his apparel, and as many of his geldings, as he ſhall chooſe; his leaſe of Lord Bath's lands jointly to his executors; and to his brother Towneley (who

[y] Pedigree of Nowell in Lanc. Viſitation, 1567. MS. Williamſon, F. 30. f. 16. Queen's Coll. Oxford. Morant's Eſſex, ii. 381. Holman's Hiſt. Eſſex, MS. Bodl. Libr.

was alſo bred to the law in Gray's Inn) his books, except thoſe which were Mr. Chaloner's, which he gives to Gray's Inn; where, as curioſities, they have been ſearched for in vain. The former owner of them, however, was probably not Sir Thomas Chaloner, as once conjectured (for he did not die till two years afterwards) but a perſon leſs known, Robert Chaloner, Eſquire, who married the teſtator's aunt [z]. The reſidue of his effects he orders to be diſtributed, at the diſcretion of his executors, among his kindred and the poor; an injunction which the pious Dean of St. Paul's ſeems to have diſcharged with intereſt, adding to the reſiduum his own perſonal ſhare, as one of his brother's legatees [a].

One or two among many other legacies muſt ſtill be mentioned. He leaves to "his good Maſter and friend, Mr. Secretary Cecil, Maſter of the Court of Wards, the wardſhip of young Mr. Walgrave, and 100 marks, to make him ſome ſuch thing as ſhall pleaſe him, in remembrance of his poor friend; and I beſeech him neither to truſt too much to himſelf, nor to this deceitful world." Sincere af-

[z] Pedigree of Nowell, MS. Williamſon, ut ſupra.

[a] "Opum quæ ſibi jure teſtamentario ceſſerunt diribitor pientiſſimus." Epitaph.

fection, eſpecially in a dying friend, is apt to give ſuperabundant caution; and the ſtateſman, who, like Cecil, wields at will affairs of ſuch variety and magnitude, may have as much need as others, for the hint which reminds him, that events are uncertain and himſelf mortal. He appointed Cecil overſeer of his will, together with Gilbert Gerard, the Queen's Attorney General, who has a legacy of 5l. for a ring; and they both atteſted the will to be the hand writing of the teſtator.

In a codicil, dated February 6, 1568-9, which was the day of his death, he bequeathed "to his good friend Ralph Barton of Gray's Inn 40l. and his beſt furred gown, and beſt other gown faced with velvet;" and again remembered ſome of the friends remembered in his will, and others. He then delivered to his brother Alexander the key of his cheſt, and his ring, and "prayed him not to deceive him, but that the poor ſhould have all his goods, his debts and legacies and funeral expences being firſt diſcharged [b]." Full of theſe pious ſentiments, he ſeems to have expired, ſurrounded by his friends; for ſome of

[b] Nowell to Cecil, without date, but written, as appears, in 1596. Burghley MS. lxxxii. No. 48.

them were witneſſes to the codicil; and it was proved by the three brothers, his executors, the ſame day [c].

Whitaker of Cambridge, one of the legatees and nephew of Robert Nowell, publiſhed this year the Prayers of the Church of England in Greek [d]; a circumſtance, which requires to be mentioned, if it were only to correct the miſtake of his biographer, implicitly adopted by others, that his ſkill in Greek was firſt known by his tranſlation of Nowell's Catechiſm; but that tranſlation was not printed till 1573, four years after this verſion of the prayers. He had ſuffered long and ſeverely by a quartan ague; and as he could not live without ſome literary employment, he made choice of this, that, being intent at once upon ſtudy and upon prayer, he might beg of God medicine and ſtrength, both of body and mind.

The book contains the morning and evening prayers, the litany, the catechiſm, the col-

[c] Prerog. Office, Sheffield xiii.

[d] Penes me, the obliging gift of the Rev. Henry J. Todd, Rector of Allhallows, Lombard ſtreet, and Librarian to his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Printed by Reynold Wolf, 1569. 16°. The Præfatio "ad virum doctrina et pietate præſtantem, D. Alexandrum Nowellum, D. Pauli Lond. Decanum, Avunculum ac patronum ſuum eximium," is dated "23 Maii, 1569."

lects, and, to fill a vacant page or two, the prayer after receiving the holy Communion, accompanied with the Latin verſion (the work, as is ſuppoſed, of Walter Haddon) which had been publiſhed by the Queen's authority a few years before[c]. It is dedicated, in a prefatory addreſs in Latin, to his uncle and patron, the Dean of St. Paul's; from whom he had received, from his childhood, innumerable favours; to whom therefore, he ſays, of right belonged whatſoever he could perform; and he intreats him to protect his labours, and expreſſes a hope, that, if he is indulgent to this his firſt attempt, he may one day produce ſomething not unworthy of his acceptance. The tranſlation achieved under ſuch circumſtances, when the author, a bachelor of arts, had barely entered his one and twentieth year, muſt have raiſed great hopes, which his future progreſs and celebrity did not diſappoint.

The depreſſed ſtate of religion abroad, about this period, beſet with ſo many implacable enemies, excited great compaſſion in the breaſts of the grave and good, as well as ſerious apprehenſion, leſt the miſchief, as

[c] A. D. 1560. Ames by Herbert, p. 605. 1602.

from a neighbour's houſe on fire, ſhould paſs over to this country. The Dean of St. Paul's ſhared largely in this pious ſolicitude; eſpecially when the admiral Coligni and his brother Dandilot, heads of the Proteſtant party in France, had been treacherouſly poiſoned, and the villain, who adminiſtered the poiſon, boldly acknowledged, that Catharine de Medici, the queen mother, ſet him on. The admiral narrowly eſcaped with life, to loſe it with baſer treachery three years afterwards; but Dandilot died; on which occaſion Nowell expreſſed his fears and his wiſhes, by letter, to his friend Grindal, biſhop of London. Some of the chief nobility and privy counſellors were to dine with his lordſhip, after attending, as is moſt probable, ſome public ſermon at the croſs. Nowell therefore ſays, "he is, as it were, by a certain violence enforced to put his Lordſhip in mind, that after the entertainment of thoſe moſt honourable and wiſe counſellors with good cheer, he would take occaſion" privately to move them "to endeavour, by their wiſdoms, to remove the dangerous ſecurity and ſlackneſs" of many, "in the common cauſe;" "and to ſtir them up, by ſome ſpeedy competent aid, to help towards the delivery of our brethren from cer-

tain deſtruction, and to the depulſion of imminent danger from our own heads[f]." The biſhop, being himſelf ſufficiently ſenſible of theſe matters, did not, as his biographer probably conjectures, reject this advice; but it does not appear, that it led to the adoption of any ſpecific meaſure, for the general ſafety, further than to increaſe perhaps the vigilance of thoſe, who watched over the public welfare.

Though no Papiſts were, in this reign, put to death purely on account of their religion, as numberleſs Proteſtants had been in the woful days of queen Mary, yet many were executed for treaſon; and others it was found neceſſary to commit for a time to ſafe cuſtody, either in ſome priſon, or, as was often tried with various ſucceſs, to the houſe of ſome biſhop, or learned divine, in the hope of bringing them to conformity.

Sir John Southworth, knight, of Samleſbury in Lancaſhire, was committed in 1568 to the

[f] Strype's Grindal, p. 137. "And thus I commit your good Lordſhip to Almightie God, who defend his poor flock from the gredy gaping of the roaring lyons, theſe bloodthurſtye papiſts. Amen. 6° Junii, 1569." MS. Burghley, xi. No. 92. "To the right reverend father in God and my very good Lord, my L. Biſhop of London."

archbiſhop of Canterbury, for harbouring and encouraging diſaffected prieſts; but afterwards was ſet at liberty, without expreſs ſubmiſſion, upon ſome promiſe of amendment. But in this year (1569.) when a conſpiracy was plotting in the north, which broke out into open rebellion in September, Southworth was an active and popular leader of a knot of ſuſpected perſons at Bath; as Thomas Churchyard, a man of honeſt principles, an excellent ſoldier, and a poet of ſome repute, ſecretly informed the Secretary Cecil. He was therefore again taken up, and made a priſoner for ſome time; and then placed, under ſome eaſy confinement, with the biſhop of London[g]; who often conferred with him, in hopes to reclaim him; as did alſo the Dean of St. Paul's, by his lordſhip's deſire, taking great pains with him ſeveral times, and uſing great courteſy and humanity towards him. But all was to no purpoſe; for he was altogether unlearned and obſtinate, his principal grounds being theſe only, that he would follow his fathers, and die in the faith, in which he had been baptized. From the biſhop he was

[g] See, in the Burghley MSS. vol. xi. No. 61. a Letter from Bp. London to Sir W. Cecil on the fruitleſs iſſue of his conference with Sir I. Southworth, Aug. 3. 1569.

transferred to Nowell; but continuing fixt in his principles, and refuſing to attend, either at prayers, or ſermon, the Dean ſoon grew weary of his gueſt, as the biſhop had been before[h]. In 1584 (having probably been enlarged in the interim, and again confined) he was releaſed from confinement; the privy Council obſerving on the occaſion, that as the ſtatute allowed recuſants the alternative, either to conform, or pay a penalty, and as Sir John Southworth anſwered the penalty, it did not ſeem reaſonable, that he ſhould endure a double puniſhment[i].

The Southworths, originally of Southworth in Lancaſhire, ſucceeding by marriage in the 15th century to the eſtates of Sir William Samleſbury of Samleſbury, in that county, aſſumed the arms of that family, and ſettled at Samleſbury in the pariſh of Blackburn; where they flouriſhed for two centuries or more[k]; and the remains of their family

[h] Strype's Grindal, p. 138.

[i] Lett. of Privy Council, July 5, 1584, in anſwer to one from the Earl of Derby and Biſhop of Cheſter, May 3, who thought their credit as Commiſſioners was touched by the enlargement of recuſants. Defid. Curioſ. i. B. iv. No. xlvii. xlviii.

[k] See the Southworth pedigree in the Lanc. Viſitation, 1567. MS. Williamſon, F. 30. f. 120. Queen's College, Oxford. And ſee the Townley pedigree in the Hiſt. of Whalley, p. 325.

manſion there are very magnificent [l]. The circumſtance of Nowell's ſtep-father, Charles Towneley, eſquire, being the grandſon of a Southworth, would not leſſen the intereſt, which the Dean felt for the preſent head of the family, however little his good wiſhes and endeavours for his information and welfare might avail.

In the beginning of the year 1570 he was appointed Guardian of Triſtram Mitchell, ſon and heir of Richard Mitchell, eſquire, of the county of Somerſet [m], a point not very material to mention, were it not for a particular circumſtance involved in the appointment. For the patent gave him full ſeven years' arrears of an annuity of thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, reſerved in the royal coffers ſince the death of his ward's father; which would put into his hands what was then no inconſiderable ſum, whether he choſe to employ it in works of charity, or devote it to purpoſes literary or domeſtic, for his own convenience.

[l] Rev. Dr. Whitaker, 1807.

[m] Pat. 11 Feb. 12 Eliz. (1569–70) p. 2. Rolls.

SECTION VII.

WE are now arrived at that period in the life of Nowell, when he publiſhed his Catechiſm, the principal remaining monument of his fame, and connected with an intereſting point in the annals of our church, the hiſtory of Catechiſms. It will not be amiſs therefore, on this occaſion, to look back a little, and inveſtigate the ſubject; eſpecially as the moſt learned and diligent inquirers into our eccleſiaſtical antiquities are here full of miſtakes; ſome of which we may hope to remove; but others, I fear, muſt ſtill wait for more laborious reſearch, or fortunate diſcovery.

The practice of catechizing, or inſtructing children in the fundamental principles of the Chriſtian religion, was carefully obſerved in the primitive church; and the names of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jeruſalem, and others, from the very days of St. Mark, are recorded with honour for their catechetical labours. The intermiſſion of this

duty, in ſucceeding times, was one of the cauſes, which occaſioned and perpetuated the ignorance and errors of what are truly ſtyled the dark ages; and when at laſt, after ten centuries, light began to dawn, the Council of Trent, to prevent the diffuſion of it, ſtrictly prohibited the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue [n], and forbade the uſe of all Catechiſms, and expoſitions even of the Apoſtles' creed and ten commandments [o]. Genuine learning however and true religion could not for ever be ſuppreſſed; and when they revived together in the ſixteenth century, the importance of early inſtruction by catechetical forms was again acknowledged; and Eraſmus and Luther [p] and Melanchthon, and Calvin and others wrote Catechiſms.

[n] Rules &c. by order of the C. of Trent. Index Libror. Prohibit. 1758. p. ii.

[o] Catecheſes et Catechiſmi omnes &c. ib. p. xxxi. It comes under the head of "Libri ab Hæreticis ſcripti vel editi," and probably was intended of ſuch only. In the Index many Catechiſms are prohibited by name; with this ſweeping addition: "Et ceteri omnes Hæreticorum Catechiſmi." In 1566 a Catechiſm was publiſhed in conſequence of a decree of the council of Trent, but ſo little calculated to teach pure evangelical truth, that in the copious index ſubjoined to it (where the Euchariſt occupies four columns) the holy Scripture is never once mentioned.

[p] A larger and a ſmaller Catechiſm, both in 1529. Cave Hiſt. Lit.

In our own country, next to the renunciation of papal ſupremacy and the tranſlation of the holy Scriptures into Engliſh, the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man [q], and Henry VIIIth's Primer [r], containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in Engliſh, with a ſtrict injunction to all ſchoolmaſters to uſe and teach the ſame, were the main ſteps, which prepared the way for a fuller reformation in the days of the ſixth Edward. In the firſt year of that prince's reign, Cranmer publiſhed and dedicated to him a Catechiſm, for the "commodity and profit of children and young people." He was not the author

[q] Printed by Berthelet, 1537. In the Library at Arbury, bound up with, "The waye of Dyenge well" by Thomas Lupſet, ſame printer, 1534. Lupſet was the friend and correſpondent of Eraſmus. Knight's Colet, p. 234. 239. The title of "The Inſtitution of a Chriſten man" was probably borrowed from "Inſtitutum Chriſtiani hominis," which Dean Colet ſays "that learned Eraſmus made at my requeſte," which he ordered to be taught to the children at St. Paul's, after the "Catechizon," which was "inſtruction of the articles of the faythe and the x Commandments in Ingliſhe." ib. 361. 364. His ſchool is inſcribed, "Schola Catechizationis puerorum in Chriſti Opt. Maximi fide et bonis literis. MDX." The "Inſtitution" contains an expoſition of the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Pater noſter, Ave Maria, Juſtification, and Purgatory.

[r] Printed by Walter Lynne in 1548. Ames, p. 710. In the poſſeſſion of R. Heber Eſquire.

of it, but it was tranſlated from the German under his immediate eye, and reviſed by him [s]. It was not in the form of queſtions and anſwers, but conſiſted of ſhort explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, baptiſm, the power of the keys, and the Lord's Supper; and though, neither in form, nor ſize, ſo well calculated for general uſe, yet, as Dr. Rowland Taylor obſerved, the "book for the time did much good [t]."

The firſt and ſecond Liturgy of Edward VI. each contained a catechiſm, in the order of Confirmation; which, as far as it went, was almoſt verbatim the ſame with our preſent church Catechiſm, ending with the Deſire, or explanation of the Lord's prayer. The com-

[s] Biſhop Ridley ſeems to have known who was the author of this Catechiſm, and ſpeaks of him as ſtill living in 1554: "Mr. Secretary (quoth I) that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again." Diſcourſe in the Tower, Apr. 1554. Fox ii. p. 1426.

[t] Letters of Martyrs, p. 172. Fox's Martyrs, ad ann. 1555. p. 1521. Dr. Taylor had been in archbiſhop Cranmer's houſhold, which he quitted on being preſented to the living of Hadley in Suffolk. Gardiner committed him to the King's Bench, where he lay about a year and three quarters, and was then, among other things, queſtioned by Gardiner about "a religion ſet forth in a Catechiſm by my Lord of Canterbury." Fox, ii. 1521. He was afterwards ſent to his pariſh of Hadley, and there burnt, Feb 6, 1554–5. Strype's Mem. iii. 209.

pilers of this Liturgy are known, but not the diſtinct parts framed ſeparately by each; unleſs it may be thought perhaps, that biſhop Goodrich, one of the number, drew up thoſe two admirable ſummaries of our duty to God and to our neighbour, which he cauſed to be inſcribed, where they ſtill remain, on a part of the epiſcopal palace at Ely [u].

In 1553 was publiſhed "A ſhort Catechiſm, or plain inſtruction, containing the ſum of Chriſtian learning, ſet forth by the King's majeſty's authority, for all ſchoolmaſters to teach [x]." The King's letter prefixed to it is dated at Greenwich, May 20, only ſeventeen days before his deceaſe; and yet there came out at leaſt two impreſſions of this catechiſm in Latin, and two in Engliſh, this ſame year [y];

[u] As this inſcription has never been noticed in print, and is connected with our preſent inquiry, the curious reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a copy of it. It is therefore correctly exhibited among the Collections in the Appendix, No. vi. from an exact tranſcript, which, through the kindneſs of my ever honoured Tutor, the Rev. Houſtonne Radcliffe, D. D. late Prebendary of Ely, now (1808) Archdeacon of Canterbury, I received a few years ago from the Rev William Metcalfe, Minor Canon of Ely and Rector of Barley in Hertfordſhire, once the living of the famous Dr. Willet, author of Synopſis Papiſmi and other learned works.

[x] Ames, p. 602. and p. 1571. another without date, p. 612. The King's letter is alſo in Wilkins' Counc. vol. iv. p. 79.

[y] Ames, p. 628.

with the Articles ſubjoined, forty two in number, which were agreed upon in the Convocation of 1552, and now publiſhed alſo by the King's authority. As it is not likely, that new editions of ſuch a work would be hazarded after the acceſſion of Mary, it is probable that at leaſt one Latin and one Engliſh impreſſion of the catechiſm were already in the preſs, and waited only for the King's letter to be prefixed to them.

This is what is commonly called Edward VIth's Catechiſm, and is by ſome aſcribed to Nowell [z], and by others to Poinet, biſhop of Rocheſter, who was afterwards tranſlated to Wincheſter; and he was probably (as we ſhall ſee preſently) the real author of it. The King, in his royal letter prefixed to it, ſays nothing more on the ſubject, than that, "when there was preſented unto us, to be peruſed, a ſhort and playne order of Catechiſme, written by a certayne godlye and learned man: We committed the debatinge and diligent examination thereof to certain Byſhoppes and other learned men, whoſe

[z] "Authore Alex. Nowell, ſi quid ego judico." Biſhop Ward in Strype's Cranmer, p. 294. Tanner in Biblioth. quotes Ric. Smith's Scutum Fidei for ſaying it was "Compilatus a dom. Cranmero, Ridleio" &c.

judgement we have in greate eſtimation. And becavſe it ſemed agreeable with the Scriptures and the ordynaunces of oure Realme, we have commanded it to be publiſhed, and to be taught by all ſchoolmaſters, immediately after *the other brief Catechiſm*, which we have already ſet forth."

And here a freſh difficulty ſtarts up, what this "other brief catechiſm" might be; for it is not likely, that the alluſion is to that in the book of Common Prayer. But this may perhaps occur again. Of Edward VIth's catechiſm it muſt further be obſerved, that it is in the form of a dialogue or queſtion and anſwer, between *Magiſter* and *Auditor*, as ſome of Cicero's dialogues are, and as Nowell's catechiſm was afterwards; and treats of the Law or Obedience, of Belief, and of Prayer; which are the three firſt parts of Nowell's alſo, but has no diſtinct account of the Sacraments, except that they are briefly handled (where we ſhould little expect them) in the expoſition of the Creed [a]. Conciſe as it is, the

[a] The very learned and excellent archbiſhop Wake ſpeaks not very accurately of this Catechiſm, when he ſays, "Here I take the complete model of our Church-Catechiſm to have been firſt laid; to the explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, was *added* a ſhort account of the two Sacra-

queſtions and anſwers are too long. The ſtyle is in general good; but it is unequal, and not always perfectly accurate and claſſical.

The catechiſm of Henry Stephens alſo requires to be mentioned. It was publiſhed in French, in Latin, and in Greek; went through ſeveral editions, and received ſucceſſive alterations and corrections. The firſt edition in Greek, but anonymous, was in 1551, when the author, as he afterwards confeſſed, was almoſt a boy; yet it pleaſed Melanchthon ſo well, that, having learnt who the author was, he wrote him a letter of thanks and encouragement [b]. It is in the form of queſtion and anſwer, between Maſter and Child, and conſiſts of five parts, Faith, the Commandments, Prayer, holy Scripture, and the Sacraments; but in a later edition the part concerning holy Scripture ſtands at the head of ments." (Preface to his Commentary upon the Church-Catechiſm.) The Sacraments do not, as is here implied, conſtitute a ſeparate and the laſt part of the work; but are introduced under the ninth article of the Creed, ("The holy catholic church, the communion of ſaints") as ſome of the external parts of religion, or "*cultûs Dei*;" and the mode of adminiſtration and deſign of them are delivered, chiefly in the words of Scripture, but not their appropriate nature, as outward ſigns of inward grace.

[b] H. Stephens at the end of an edition of his Catechiſm, Gr. et Lat. 1563. In the Library at Arbury.

the work, the place which in appearance it ought to occupy, if it is made part of a catechiſm.

If Nowell, as has been thought, borrowed from this catechiſm ſome things, which lean towards the doctrines of Calvin, he was not (at leaſt not in other matters) a blind copyiſt, but followed his own judgement; for the Deſcent into hell, which Stephens, after Calvin and moſt of that ſchool, interprets of the horror and anguiſh of Chriſt on the croſs, Nowell explains, more conſiſtently with the ſcope of the Creed, where it ſtands *after* our Lord's *death*, of the real deſcent of his ſoul into Hades, or the inviſible world; and if, as may be conjectured by the marginal reference to 1 Peter, iii. 19. he had an eye, in what follows, to the Articles of Edward VI. in which that text is expreſsly applied to the ſoul of Chriſt, while ſeparate from the body, he was careful however to reſtrain his expoſition to a ſafe and general ſenſe, by ſaying, that the Virtue of his death ſo pierced through to the dead, both to the wicked and the good, as to increaſe the pain and deſpair of the one, and the comfort of the other.

Biſhop Ridley, in a letter written when he was in priſon, laments that "the Catechiſm,

which was lately ſet forth in the Engliſh tongue, was now in every pulpit condemned. Satan could not endure," continues the pious and learned prelate, "that ſo much light ſhould be ſpread abroad; for he knew that nothing tended ſo effectually to overturn his kingdom, as for children to learn Chriſt from their infancy; by which means not only children, but thoſe of riper years alſo would, together with the children, neceſſarily learn Chriſt [c]."

The catechiſm thus deſcribed and commended, as calculated for the inſtruction of young and old, could hardly be that which was contained in Edward VIth's Service book, publiſhed firſt in 1549, but was, I conceive, ſome diſtinct and more recent publication; and if we are right in this concluſion, we ſhall probably not miſtake, in ſuppoſing the catechiſm intended to be that before mentioned of Edward the ſixth, which was publiſhed, as well in Engliſh as in Latin, in the year 1553. The Articles of religion ſubjoined to it, though not alluded to by Ridley, would furniſh an additional reaſon with the Papiſts to condemn it.

[c] Letters of the Martyrs, printed by Day, 1564. p. 32.

Among the works, which are not very numerous, of Poinet, biſhop of Wincheſter, Bale reckons "A Catechiſm to the King;" and, to identify the book, he quotes, as his manner is, the firſt words of Edward VIth's letter, prefixed to what is called his Catechiſm. The induſtrious author, in his learned and extenſive work "De Scriptoribus Britannicis," is not without miſtakes, nor is this very accurately ſtyled "Catechiſmus *ad Regem*;" but as it is plain what book was intended, and as there is nothing of real weight to throw into the oppoſite ſcale, this, ſo far as I know, ſingle contemporary evidence for aſcertaining who was the writer of the book, muſt, I preſume, be admitted as deciſive. At the ſame time, however, it is certain, that Nowell has tranſcribed from this Catechiſm more than it would be ſuppoſed, on the firſt view of the queſtion, he would copy from any book not written by himſelf, without acknowledging it. Indeed the two books have ſo much in common, that if they were not penned by the ſame hand, the author of the latter, I make no doubt, would with far greater eaſe have produced a work of equal excellence, the matter and ſtyle being entirely his own, than adopt what he has

adopted, and in the manner he has done it, from the work of his predeceſſor. Of this any one will be convinced, who will take, for inſtance, a ſermon of Atterbury or of Sherlock, and write another on the ſame ſubject, retaining half the ſubſtance and half the diction of the copy before him; yet ſo as never to tranſcribe a ſingle page, and ſcarcely a ſentence, unaltered or unimproved; but elaborating the whole in his own mind, and clothing it in a ſtyle equable and uniform, as if the method ſentiments and language were entirely new and his own.

It was not therefore from penury of matter, or poverty of ſtyle, and certainly not to ſpare his own labour, that Nowell conſolidated ſo much of Poinet's Catechiſm with his own, but for another reaſon, honourable to both. It was a principle with our reformers, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, not to frame a new liturgy, but to reviſe and retain what was already well done in the liturgy and Articles of Edward VI.; and Nowell, one of thoſe reformers, thought himſelf bound to pay ſimilar deference to the catechiſm of that reign; which, in point of authority, was only inferior to the eſtabliſhed liturgy, and homilies, and articles of the church. This alſo

obviated a popular pretext of the Roman catholics, who objected nothing more frequently againſt the reformed, than the novelty and variety of their catechiſms, or, as they choſe to call them, "religions."

The variety of catechiſms was indeed a ſerious inconvenience, and it was thought very deſirable, that there ſhould be one catechiſm, as there was one grammar, for public uſe; which was the chief reaſon why Poinet's was enjoined, as Nowell's was afterwards [d], by royal authority. But, in another view, this very diverſity furniſhes no contemptible argument in favour of the truth. The diſciple of Lily, the ſcholar of Eton, and the ſcholar of Weſtminſter, have laws of grammar, which are framed with ſome variety; but when they write an oration in Latin, their ſtyle and language are one and the ſame, equally correct and claſſical: and among thoſe who uſed the Catechiſm of Poinet, or of Nowell, or others, which that age produced, there was the ſame agreement and conſiſtency of truth. Their doctrine was one, though their forms varied.

[d] Not explicitly, but by ratifying the Canons of the church; which Canons (as will appear below) enjoin the uſe of this Catechiſm.

But as the circumſtance of theſe two celebrated Catechiſms having ſo much in common, though not entirely a new diſcovery, is yet a curious fact, which has never been diſtinctly ſtated and aſcertained, it ſeemed neceſſary to inſtitute a more particular compariſon of them, by bringing together ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages, wherein this agreement is found. A paper of this ſort is therefore, in the appendix [c], laid before the reader; and if, on examining theſe ſpecimens, he is ſatisfied of what a careful collation of each from beginning to end has convinced the preſent writer, that, in Nowell's hands, the gold, which is not originally his own, receives a freſh poliſh and luſtre, an incidental proof will hence ariſe, that the works are really by different authors. For it is rare indeed, that our powers of Latinity are found to improve, as we recede from the ſchools and Academic bowers; and though Nowell might poſſibly, at any period, ſurpaſs Poinet, it is not likely, that when he was fifty at St. Paul's, he would, in point of ſtyle, ſurpaſs himſelf when forty at Weſtminſter. I will only add, that although, following herein the

[c] No. vii.

example of Cicero, when, in a like caſe, he borrowed from preceding philoſophers "as much as he thought good, and in the manner he judged beſt[f]," he has indeed availed himſelf of almoſt all that is truly excellent in Poinet's Catechiſm, paſſing over ſuch things as were leſs important, or leſs ſuitable to his purpoſe; yet the matter, thus imported and uſed with advantage, ſcarcely amounts to a twentieth part of his own truly valuable and maſterly work.

The preciſe time, when he wrote his Catechiſm, has not been diſcovered; nor whether, as is not improbable, he firſt deviſed it (or ſome ſuch ſummary) for the uſe of his pupils in Weſtminſter ſchool; in which caſe the date of that original draught was, in all probability, prior to Poinet's. But, leaving conjectures, it is certain, that it was compoſed, and in readineſs for publication, before the Convocation ſat in 1562. For among the minutes of matters to be moved in that ſynod, we find two memorable papers, both of them noted by the archbiſhop's hand, and one of them drawn up by one of his ſecretaries, in

[f] Cic. de Off. L. i. c. ii.

both of which there is expreſs mention of Nowell's Catechiſm.

The firſt of theſe papers, concerning the Form of Doctrine, ſays, "Firſt, A Catechiſm is to be ſet forth in Latin. Which is already done by Mr. Dean of Paul's, and wanteth only viewing. Secondly, Certain Articles, containing the principal grounds of Chriſtian religion, are to be ſet forth,—much like to ſuch Articles as were ſet forth a little before the death of king Edward. Of which Articles the moſt part may be uſed, with addition and correction, as ſhall be thought convenient. Thirdly, To theſe alſo may be adjoined the Apology [of biſhop Jewell] lately ſet forth, after it hath been once again reviſed, and ſo augmented or corrected as occaſion ſerveth. Theſe to be joined in one book, and by common conſent to be authorized, as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the univerſities and grammar ſchools throughout the realm." To which the archbiſhop added, "And in cathedral churches and collegiate, and in private houſes[g]." So much had he at heart the

[g] Strype's Ann. i. 317.

advancement of true religion, and ſo much did he approve of theſe means of advancing it.

The other paper, which had paſſed Grindal's hands, as well as the archbiſhop's, having firſt propoſed, for unity of doctrine, to put out one book containing Articles of religion; next adviſed, that, "As there is one uniform Grammar, preſcribed throughout the ſchools of the whole realm, ſo there may be authorized one perfect Catechiſm, for the bringing up of the youth in godlineſs in the ſaid ſchools, which book is well nigh finiſhed by the induſtry of the Dean of Paul's. And that the ſaid Catechiſm, being once approved by the learned of the Convocation Houſe, may be authorized to be taught alſo by the univerſities, and to the youth whereſoever they be taught their grammar in any private men's houſes [h]."

The unequivocal evidence of theſe authentic papers leaves no room for heſitation in ſuppoſing, that when, in the Convocation of 1562, a committee of the upper houſe, conſiſting of Jewell and three other biſhops, was appointed [i] to examine a book called "The

[h] Ib. 350.

[i] Feb. 5. See above, p. 95.

Catechiſm;" and when the Prolocutor of the lower houſe afterwards [k] preſented to the upper "*Catechiſmus puerorum*," as unanimouſly approved by the lower houſe, both the one and the other of the works, thus under the cognizance of the Convocation (if they were indeed diſtinct works, and not one and the ſame) were Nowell's Catechiſms, which it had been the intention of the archbiſhop and others, who had the lead in theſe matters, to bring forward, and adopt; and the only doubt will be, which of the three catechiſms is intended. The titles of Nowell's Catechiſms, as they were afterwards publiſhed, do not leſſen, but rather increaſe the difficulty of the queſtion. The preparatory minutes of *deſiderata* for the Convocation lead us to expect a work of juſt magnitude, fit to be taught as well in the univerſities, as in grammar ſchools; and the "*Catechiſmus*" of Nowell (which is the title of the largeſt of the three) fully anſwers ſuch an expectation. But then it is ſtrange, that a work, which as yet, we may conclude, exiſted only in Latin, ſhould be deſignated in a Latin regiſter by an Engliſh title, "The Catechiſm."

[k] March 3. See above, p. 96.

The deſcription of the other, as "*Catechiſmus puerorum*," accords very well as an abbreviated title of the ſmalleſt Catechiſm [1]; and this probably, as we ſhall preſently ſee reaſon to ſuppoſe, was firſt drawn up in Engliſh, and then tranſlated into Latin.

On the whole therefore I do incline to think, but without being at all confident in the opinion, that the ſmalleſt Catechiſm was that which obtained the unanimous approbation of the lower houſe of Convocation; leaving the reader at full liberty to believe, that the upper houſe had, a month before, entered upon the examination of the largeſt Catechiſm. They do not however appear, by any recorded act, to have ſanctioned the book; whether for want of time fully to reviſe it, or whether they did not care, how much ſoever they might value it individually, to give that high authority to every part of ſo long a work, which their united ſuffrage would ſeem to convey. Of Jewell's Apology, and perhaps for the ſame reaſon, becauſe they would not make themſelves reſponſible for every page of it, no notice whatever ap-

[1] The full title is, "*Catechiſmus* parvus *pueris*, primum Latine qui ediſcatur, proponendus in ſcholis."

pears to have been taken by the Convocation; though it had previouſly, as we have ſeen [m], been in contemplation to join that with Nowell's Catechiſm and the Articles, as containing collectively the doctrine of the Church of England.

That the Catechiſm was very generally approved by the Convocation, if not adopted and ratified by ſome particular though unrecorded act, ſeems to be the leaſt that can be inferred from the words of Nowell himſelf, in a letter to Sir William Cecil, which is dated June 22, 1563, within three months from the riſing of the ſynod. He therein certifies him, "That whereas the copy of the Catechiſm, which he cauſed to be written out for his Honour, to whom the book is dedicate, came to the hands of the biſhops and clergy, aſſembled in the late Convocation; and, by reaſon that certain places were by their judgements altered, was interlined and ſomewhere blotted, he had cauſed it to be copied out again, and had ſent it to his Honour, not now in his own name, as afore, *but in the name of the clergy of the Convocation, as their book, ſeeing it is by them ap-*

[m] P. 166.

proved and allowed. That he would have ſent it ſooner, but that he thought his Honour to be occupied with certain moſt weighty public affairs ;—which ſeeing they did not, ſo ſpeedily as he truſted, draw toward an end, but continued and augmented ſtill, he thought it meet that the copy of the book, at the beginning appointed and dedicated to his Honour, ſhould remain with the ſame ; that when opportunity ſhould ſerve, he might at leiſure have it, and judge, whether it were not unworthy, by his help, to be made public by the Queen's Majeſty's authority. For how expedient it were, that ſome treaty of religion ſhould be ſet forth publicly in the name of our country, his Honour did well underſtand ; ſeeing the opinion beyond the ſeas was, that nothing touching religion was, with any authority or conſent of any number of the learned here in our country, taught and ſet forth ; but that a few private perſons taught and wrote their opinions, without the approbation of any authority at all. That for his part he had taken pains, as well about the matter of the book, that it might be conſonant unto the true doctrine of the Scriptures, as alſo that the ſtyle might agree with the purity of the Latin tongue. And

that as the book had not misliked their judgements, whom he did both most allow, and also reverence; so if it might likewise be approved to him, to whose patrocinie in his purpose he appointed it, when he first began it, he should think his pains most happily bestowed [n]."

In Cecil's hands it lay for above a year, as Strype says, and was then returned, with some learned man's notes upon it; and so remained with the author till 1570, when it was called for again by both the archbishops, in order that it might be published; and, by Cecil's consent, to whom it had been addressed before, it was now dedicated to the two archbishops, and the bishop of London, by name, and generally to the other bishops, vigilant and faithful pastors of the Church of England.

In this prefatory address or dedication two things certainly are very extraordinary; that he does not so much as allude to the sanction of the Convocation, whatever it was; and that he never once mentions the Catechism of Edward VI. Whether in the course of seven

[n] Burghley MS. vii. No. 9. See also a copy of it in Strype's Ann. i. 353.

years, while it lay by him, it had received ſo many corrections and improvements, as to be in ſome ſenſe a new work (a ſuppoſition poſſible, no doubt, but not very probable) or whatever might be the reaſon, ſo it is, that there appears not the moſt diſtant hint or alluſion to the decrees or deliberations of Convocation; nor is any account given of the progreſs of the work, from the firſt ſketch to its preſent form and completion; only that it had been compoſed, as a book intended for the inſtruction of youth, on points of ſuch moment, ought to be, with great care, and with attention to the ſtyle as well as matter. And he concludes with expreſſing his earneſt hopes, that if the youth of the realm take the book into their hands, ſanctioned by the authority of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed, it will be of great advantage to the Chriſtian world.

The date of the publication was June 16, 1570; and the preface, already quoted, announced it to be the author's intention, for the ſake of thoſe that are fond of brevity, to publiſh the ſame Catechiſm, reduced into a ſhorter compaſs, as ſoon as poſſible. The abridgement accordingly came out the ſame year, and was dedicated, as the other had

been, to the archbiſhops and biſhops, to whom the author held himſelf accountable both for his leiſure and his labours.

The longer and the ſhorter Catechiſm had one common object of general utility, to retrieve and recover, if it were poſſible, the manners of a corrupt age, by laying a good foundation in the religious inſtitution of youth, while their minds were ductile and untainted with vice. Great, and, we may truly add, ſucceſsful pains were beſtowed upon the ſtyle, that the terms and phraſes ſhould be pure and correct; a point to which he was the more ſtudiouſly attentive, knowing, from his own experience in teaching, that many learnt the language in ſuch a way, that, in their maturer years, they could not truſt themſelves to write or ſpeak it. One exception was neceſſary, where accuracy of doctrine was rather to be regarded than purity of ſpeech; and things never taught by Roman eloquence were to be told in words and expreſſions of eſtabliſhed uſe among Chriſtian writers, but unknown to Livy and Cicero. To remedy however this inconvenience, he ſubjoined to the larger Catechiſm an alphabetical liſt of words and forms of expreſſion, peculiar to the Chriſtian religion, noting the

deviations from correct Latinity, and ſhewing commonly how the ſame ſenſe might be conveyed, in phraſeology more conformable to the ſtyle of the beſt claſſics.

To render the work more extenſively uſeful, two of the author's learned friends tranſlated, each of them, the longer and the ſhorter catechiſm, one into Engliſh, the other into Greek. The Engliſh tranſlator was Thomas Norton, a man eminent in the reign of queen Elizabeth for the productions of his pen, as well in poetry as in proſe, having written the greater part of "Ferrex and Porrex, ſons of Gorboduc, King of Britain," a tragedy acted before the Queen by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561, commonly attributed to Thomas Sackvile, afterwards Earl of Dorſet; which, in the judgement of Sir Philip Sidney, was eſteemed the beſt tragedy of its time [o]. It will not, I fear, in the preſent day, add to Norton's fame, of whom we ſhall again have occaſion to ſpeak, that he alſo, as Wood ſays, "made twenty ſeven of the Pſalms run in rhime [p];" which

[o] Ath. Oxon. i. 348. Norton is ſaid to have written the three firſt acts. It was afterwards altered, and publiſhed with the title of Gorboduc.

[p] Ath. Oxon. i. 77.

are printed in the verſion of Sternhold and Hopkins, and marked with the initial of his name. However he who failed, where very few have ſucceeded, in attempting ſacred poetry, might be very competent to give an exact tranſlation of an elementary book in proſe, containing the ſum of the Chriſtian religion; and as it was an object with him to promote the deſign of the firſt author of the book, "that ſuch as were ſtudious, ſpecially the youth, might with one labour learn the truth of religion and the pureneſs of the Latin tongue," he ſo framed his tranſlation, and ſo cauſed it to be printed, as to anſwer the Latin, page for page; ſo that any ſentence of one may eaſily be found in the other. But in following this method, "for the benefit of the meaner learned," though he tied himſelf very much to the obſerving of the words themſelves, yet he had always "regard to the natural property and eaſineſs of our native tongue;" and Nowell, who ſeems to have ſeen the book, obſerves, that whoever carefully reads this Engliſh verſion, will learn to ſpeak and write our native tongue with greater propriety and accuracy, than is generally done [q].

[q] Latin Dedication of the Middle Catechiſm.

Norton ſays, the "Author had very good reaſon to offer his work" to the biſhops, "chief paſtors and governors of Chriſt's flock in England, that it might be received with better aſſurance of good allowance; and that we and our poſterity, ſo long as an Engliſh child or other ſhall in this Catechiſm learn Chriſtianity, may keep in thankful remembrance the happineſs of theſe good times, the bleſſed memory of her Majeſty, and the good names of you, God's good miniſters, in whoſe time God hath ſo liberally ſpread among us the light of his goſpel, and hath made you his faithful diſpenſers of ſo great a grace."

He offers his tranſlation (as will be ſeen by this extract) to the ſame patrons, and for the ſame reaſons, ſpecially and by name to the archbiſhops, and to "my Lord of London, to whoſe dioceſe London, a light to the reſt of England, belongeth, and to whom myſelf, dwelling within your charge, do owe particular duty."

It was printed in ſmall quarto, like the Latin, and in the ſame year 1570, by Day[r], with a table of the principal matters con-

[r] Ames, p. 647.

tained in it; and reprinted[s] the next year, and at other times, though copies of any edition of it are now extremely rare.

To the tranſlation of the ſmaller or middle Catechiſm there was prefixed a diſtinct Dedication by Nowell himſelf; part of which the reader may not diſlike to ſee, as it will explain the deſign of the three Catechiſms in the writer's own words. Addreſſing himſelf to the biſhops, as before, he ſays, "It is not vnknowne vnto your wiſedomes, that the diuerſities of Catechiſmes, in ſhortneſſe, or in length, either for the firſt entring of children, or for the more full inſtruction of youth, in the principles and ſumme of Chriſtian religion, are as wel allowed by the iudgementes of diuers godly and learned men, as alſo practiſed in many Chriſtian Churches in ſondrie Countreis wel reformed, not without good reaſon, grounded vpon the diuerſities of ages and capacitie of wittes: I therefore vpon the ſaid conſiderations, haue applyed my ſelf in this Catechiſme, beyng of a middle ſort, bothe to further the profite, and to ſatisfie

[s] By Day, as before: penes me. Ames, 652. Again by Day, 1573. In the Library of R. Heber Eſquire.

them yndes of ſuche as maie iudge the little Catechiſme, as written for very yong children, not fully enough to ſerue for their inſtruction; and on the other part, may thinke the larger Catechiſme, to bee too long and tedious either for their capacitie or leiſure.—The whiche three Catechiſmes being purely tranſlated into the Latine tongue, may not only ſerue yong beginners, or more forward Scholers, in the Grammer Schole, to the ſame vſes, and to the learnyng of true Religion, and the right vſe of the Latine ſpeach with one labor, but the laſt alſo might ſeeme not vnprofitable vnto many eccleſiaſtical miniſters for diuers good purpoſes: might it therfore pleaſe your good L.— to allow the ſame, I ſhall thinke my little labour right well beſtowed.—November. 1572."

The Greek tranſlations, which were by his nephew Whitaker, though ſpoken of by Nowell as already finiſhed, when he publiſhed the Latin, were not however ſuffered, by their laborious author, to come abroad for ſome time. The larger was firſt printed, together with the Latin, in 1573, and preſented, in a Greek dedication, to the lord Treaſurer, Sir William Cecil, a tribute due to him as the common patron of literature

and Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and partly alſo in reſpect of the moſt renowned Lady his wife, univerſally admired for her learning, and particularly for her ſingular ſkill in the Greek language; ſo that ſhe was excellently qualified to judge of the performance. He prefixed alſo a ſhort copy of Greek Iambics to the Reader, exhorting him to the ſtudy of what he will here find correctly taught, true Chriſtianity [t].

The verſion of the ſmaller Catechiſm, accompanied, like the other, with the original Latin, was publiſhed in 1575, and dedicated to Nowell, "a preacher of the word of God, moſt celebrated for piety, and learning, and every virtue." In this dedication, adverting to the laudable cuſtom of the primitive church in inſtructing youth in true religion as well as ſound learning, and noting the ignorance and errors, which followed the neglect of the cuſtom, and the conſequent neceſſity of reviving it, he obſerves, that the public was greatly indebted to Nowell, who had beſtowed ſo much pains, and written many books, and contributed ſo liberally of his ſubſtance, to advance this great work, the

[t] London, by Wolfe, 1573. 8vo. In the Library of John Loveday, D. C. L.

right inſtruction of youth. "Of the three Catechiſms, which you have accurately compoſed in Latin, two I have already tranſlated into Greek; and now I preſent to you the third, in the ſame language; from which, with the help of good maſters, children may learn to be Chriſtians, and Latiniſts, and Grecians." And that for himſelf, he "eſteemed nothing more worthy of ambition, than to be an aſſiſtant and fellow labourer with him in this good work."

The third Catechiſm remains to be noticed, which is more ſcarce than either of the other two, and the hiſtory of it involved in greater obſcurity. Tanner mentions an impreſſion of it in 1572, and three or four others of Whitaker's verſion, with the Latin. He ſays alſo, that ſomebody tranſlated it into Engliſh in 1577, where Nowell's preface differs from that prefixed to the Latin [u]; and that it was alſo tranſlated into Hebrew [x].

[u] Is not this a miſtake for Nowell's dedication of the *middle* Catechiſm in Engliſh, as juſt mentioned, p. 178?

[x] Is not this alſo a miſtake for "A ſhort Catechiſme, by Law authoriſed in the Church of England, for young Children to learne: *Tranſlated into Hebrew*, by Thomas Ingmethorpe, London, *1633*," 8vo. in the Library of the late Mr. Brand; which is in fact the Church Catechiſm in Engliſh and Hebrew. And A. Wood, as it ſeems, is not perfectly correct, who mentions the

Of all this how much is correct, I am not able to ſay, as the only copy, except an imperfect one in Engliſh, which, after diligent ſearch for many years, I have been fortunate enough to meet with, is of ſo late a date as 1687, printed with prayers for the uſe of St. Paul's ſchool, and followed by the Church Catechiſm in Engliſh[y]. It is dedicated, as the others are, to Parker, Grindal, Sandys and the other biſhops; and the dedication informs us, that this very catechiſm, which Tanner ſays ſome one tranſlated into Engliſh, is itſelf the tranſlation of a ſmall Engliſh catechiſm, and that "if any one ſhall think the anſwers are (many of them) too long for the memory and apprehenſion of a child, he ſhould be told, that the tranſlator deemed it a point of conſcience, not to make any alter-

"Short Catechiſm—1633" and the "Catechiſm in Engliſh and Hebrew" (which however he ſays he had not ſeen) as diſtinct works of Ingmethorpe, who was of Braſen Noſe college, Rector of Great Stainton in the biſhopric of Durham, "eminent for the Hebrew tongue and for his admirable methods in pedagogy," and publiſhed ſeveral ſermons. Ath. Oxon. i. 599.

[y] As this neat little volume is very ſcarce, and though called "Editio noviſſima multo Auctior et emendatior," is yet probably, in ſubſtance, the ſame collection, which had often been printed together from the days of Elizabeth, a fuller account of it ſhall be given in the Appendix, No. viii.

ation whatſoever, in a Catechiſm *approved by public authority* [z]."

This republication of a Catechiſm publicly authorized, as the reader, not without wonder, muſt now be told, is in ſubſtance the church catechiſm, as we now have it, including the part upon the Sacraments. The firſt part conſiſts of the ſame number of queſtions and anſwers as the church catechiſm, and is an exact tranſlation of it, with one digreſſional enlargement, after the Duty to our neighbour in general, on the relative duties of ſubjects, children, pariſhioners, ſervants, parents, maſters, and married perſons. The part upon the ſacraments does not ſo exactly tally with the preſent church catechiſm, but has rather the appearance of being (as no doubt it was) the original work, from which the latter was compoſed, by compreſſing it a little, and dividing it into portions ſomewhat ſhorter, and omitting, as leſs neceſſary, two queſtions and anſwers, one againſt tranſubſtantiation, and the other againſt the notion of the Lord's ſupper being a ſacrifice for the remiſſion of ſins. In other reſpects there is

[z] Does this allude to the approbation of the Convocation in 1562? See above, p. 168.

little difference; as the reader will ſee, on examining the document itſelf, which, with the other additional part on the relative duties, from this very rare catechiſm, is printed in the appendix [a].

Here then occurs a queſtion, more intereſting than eaſy to be anſwered: Who was the author of that *prior* Engliſh catechiſm, of which Nowell only profeſſes himſelf the tranſlator? Muſt we abide by the authority of Izaak Walton, a diligent inquirer into theſe matters, who had converſed with thoſe who had converſed with Nowell, and tells us, that he "like an honeſt angler, made that good, plain, unperplexed Catechiſm, which is printed with our good old Service-Book [b]."

[a] No. ix. This ſmalleſt Catechiſm was tranſlated into Welſh, and printed by Jones in 1578. Ames, p. 1042.

[b] See above, p. 82. And ſee alſo, p. 178. and p. 181. what Nowell and Whitaker ſay of the Three Catechiſms. If he was really the *Author* of the ſmalleſt of the three, of which the *Engliſh* copy appears to have been the original, that Engliſh copy muſt have been written by him, which is in effect the Church Catechiſm. And was this, namely Nowell's *ſmalleſt* Catechiſm in Engliſh, "the other brief Catechiſm" mentioned as "already ſet forth" by the King, in 1553? See above, p. 157.

The late Mr. Brand informed me, that in a copy of biſhop Beveridge on the Church Catechiſm, 1705, is the following note by Dr. Elliſon, Vicar of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, dated 1708: "Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, compoſed the Church Ca-

If this were ſo, he modeſtly choſe to ſpeak of a catechiſm "publicly authorized," rather than avow himſelf the author of it; and yet thoſe, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, probably knew by whom it was written. The queſtion is perplexing in any view. In the mean time this is certain, that biſhop Overall, who is univerſally ſaid to have written the part upon the ſacraments (ſometimes called an "Addition to the Catechiſm [c]") after the techiſm as far as the article upon the Sacraments, which article was drawn up by Biſhop Overall."

[c] It is ſo quoted by Sanderſon, in ſtating the objections made to the liturgy by the Aſſembly of Divines: Hiſt. Charles I. p. 683. A work however, under the title of "The Catechiſm with Additions," had long before been in exiſtence. The Convocation in 1586 ordered, that "The miniſters ſhall, according to her Majeſty's Injunctions, inſtruct the youth in the Catechiſm, with Additions, ſet forth by public authority," and expound "the points of the ſaid Catechiſm only, with the Additions." Strype's Whitg. App. 113. And at the end of the vol. in the table of Authors made uſe of, p. iii. is "The Catechiſm, with Additions. Set forth by public Authority." In "The Entrie to Chriſtianitie or an Admonition to Houſholders," by Thomas Wats, Lond. 1589. ſmall 8vo. are titles of various initiatory tracts, chiefly under the name of Catechiſms, "beginning with the plaineſt." Among them are theſe:

"The Little Catechiſme with additions."

"Maiſter Nowell's *Little* Catechiſme."

"Maiſter Nowell's *middle* Catechiſme."

"Maiſter Beacon's Catechiſm." &c.

Nowell's "Little Catechiſm," without doubt, was his *ſmalleſt*

Conference at Hampton court, did nothing more than ſhorten and reduce into a more commodious form the excellent matter, which Nowell or ſome earlier writer had provided to his hands. This, however, is freely told to his praiſe, that he performed the taſk aſſigned him with ſo much ſkill and judgement, that no further improvement has been found neceſſary or practicable, except by the omiſſion of a ſingle clauſe at the laſt reviſion. "Water, wherein the perſon baptized is *dipped or ſprinkled with it*" (for ſo it ſtood before) ſeemed to limit baptiſm to one or the other of thoſe two ſpecific modes of adminiſtration; but as no mode whatſoever is enjoined in the New Teſtament, and it is conſequently a matter of indifference, whether it be performed by immerſion, by dipping[d], by pouring, or

as deſcribed above. And was "The Little Catechiſm with Additions," in Wats, and "The Catechiſm, with Additions: ſet forth by public authority," in Strype, one and the ſame tract? and was that the Church Catechiſm, with *Nowell*'s additional part on the Sacraments, but without the enlargement upon the relative duties? But it is much more eaſy to ſtart a difficulty, than to remove it.

[d] The ſectaries, who contend that no mode of baptizing is valid, but by a total immerſion, and inſiſt that our church *requires* it, and only *permits* ſprinkling (which in fact is never mentioned, but only "pouring water upon" the child, or "laying water

by ſprinkling, the reſtricting clauſe was properly ſtruck out; and the important ordinance was left in the generality of Scripture, by which nothing more is required, but the application of water to the body, accompa-

upon the face of it." 30th Canon.) miſtake at once the meaning of words, and the intent of our church. To *dip* is merely to put a body (either ſome part of it, or the whole) into water, in contradiſtinction to the applying of water to the body; as a ſingle inſtance will ſhew; "that he may *dip the tip of his finger* in water." Luke xvi. 24. And that our Church never meant to enjoin immerſion, is plain from the form of baptizing "ſuch as are of riper years," where the rubric allows the ſame alternative, as in the caſe of infants: He "ſhall *dip him in the water*, or pour water upon him." Of the fonts now remaining in our churches by far the greater part are older than the Reformation, when the rubrics and canons now quoted were framed; and yet there is not perhaps a ſingle font in the kingdom, in which it is *poſſible* to *immerſe* an adult. But when the miniſter, as directed, "taking the perſon by the right hand, has placed him conveniently by the font," he may "dip" his head, his face, or his forehead, "in the water;" and if water is but made to touch any part of his body, by a lawful miniſter, with the preſcribed words, no doubt he "is clean every whit." John xiii. 10. "De minimis non curat lex," an approved maxim in human laws, is no leſs true of the laws of God. No particular mode of performing circumciſion was enjoined, either in the Abrahamic or Moſaic covenant; and no mode is ordered for the adminiſtration of "the circumciſion of Chriſt" (i. e. Chriſtian circumciſion, Col. ii. 11.) further than that it be performed with water, and in the ſolemn form of words, by thoſe and the ſucceſſors of thoſe, whom Chriſt ſent and commanded to baptize all nations.

nied with the prefcribed form of words, by a minifter duly appointed.

It is not neceffary to give a fuller account of Nowell's principal Catechifm, or of the abridgement of it; but we may obferve, that as one of the four heads, into which he divides his fubject, namely that on the Sacraments, did not form a diftinct head in Poinet, and what was incidentally advanced there on thofe two ordinances, was not didactic and fuited to his purpofe, he therefore here availed himfelf of his own fmalleft Catechifm, in the fame manner as he did of Poinet's, where that could afford affiftance.

The reading world, in the reign of Elizabeth, was comparatively fmall; but Nowell's Catechifms, efpecially the two larger, were in fuch requeft, that they went through more impreffions in the fpace of a few years, than can, at this diftance of time, be eafily traced; for indeed all the copies are now extremely fcarce, except of the middle Catechifm, which continuing to be ufed in fchools for a century or more, is no uncommon book.

In the Canons, agreed upon by archbifhop Parker and the bifhops of his province, in the year 1571, one of the injunctions was,

that Schoolmaſters ſhould teach no other Latin Catechiſm, but that which was publiſhed in the year 1570 (plainly meaning Nowell's Catechiſm) and that ſuch children as did not underſtand Latin, ſhould learn the Engliſh tranſlation [e]. But when archbiſhop Grindal, in 1572, required, that the choriſters at York ſhould be examined thrice every quarter of a year "in the Engliſh Catechiſm, now lately ſet forth and enlarged [f]," he probably meant Nowell's ſmalleſt Catechiſm; as he probably did three years afterwards, when, on his tranſlation to Canterbury, he injoined, "that the Catechiſm allowed ſhould be diligently taught to the youth in every pariſh church [g]." But in the ſtatutes of the grammar ſchool, which he founded at St. Bee's in Cumberland, he ſeems to enjoin the uſe of the three Catechiſms; for the children are to "ſay by heart the Catechiſm in Engliſh, ſet forth by public authority;" and to be taught "the greater as well as leſſer Catechiſm, ſet out by authority, and no other Catechiſm, except publicly authorized [h]." There is alſo, I con-

[e] Sparrow's Canons, p. 239.
[f] Strype's Grindal, p. 169.
[g] Ibid. 195. App. 61.
[h] Ibid. 312.

ceive, indubitable alluſion to the three in a deed of later date, under the Dean's own eye; for when he, with the chapter of St. Paul's, appointed their almoner, Thomas Gyles, "Maſter of the Quiriſters," it was covenanted with him, that he ſhould inſtruct them "in the principles and grounds of the Chriſtian religion, contained in *the little Catechiſm* ſet out by public authority, and after, when they ſhall be elder, in the *middle* Catechiſm; and in writing and muſic—; and then ſuffer them to reſort to Paul's ſchool, that they may learn the principles of grammar, and after, as they ſhall be forwards, learn the ſaid Catechiſms in Latin, which before they learned in Engliſh, and other good books taught in the ſaid ſchool[i]."

In 1578 the univerſity of Oxford made a ſtatute for the extirpating of hereſy and grounding of youth in true religion[k]. At the head of the liſt of books, appointed to be read for this purpoſe, ſtands Nowell's larger Catechiſm; and the ſtatute was reinforced by the injunctions of that great ſtateſman, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, on his being elected Chancellor of the univerſity, in 1589; and

[i] Reg. Nowell ii. f. 189. May 22, 1584.

[k] Wood's Ann. ed. Gutch, ii. 193.

again by archbiſhop Bancroft, as ſoon as he became Chancellor, in 1608 [l]. Five years before this, when the Canons of the Church were drawn up and agreed upon, in 1603, under the ſame Bancroft, then biſhop of London, Preſident of the Convocation (the ſee of Canterbury being vacant) the ſeventy ninth Canon ordered, that "All Schoolmaſters ſhall teach in Engliſh or Latin, as the children are able to bear, the larger or ſhorter Catechiſm heretofore by public authority ſet forth;" evidently meaning Nowell's Catechiſm, which the Canons of 1571 had in like manner enjoined [m].

Theſe facts and documents are a ſufficient indication of the uſe and eſtimation of theſe elementary, but ſtandard works of Nowell: two teſtimonies, however, to their merit, which have been quoted by others, are too honourable to be omitted. Cooper, biſhop of Wincheſter, in his Admonition to the people

[l] Wood's Annals, ii. 237, 296. Bancroft's letter requires "firſt and above all things" the obſervance of the "ancient ſtatutes" for "catechizing and training up of youth in true religion," but does not mention Nowell's Catechiſm by name.

[m] See above, p. 188. "The Catechiſm ſet forth in the Book of Common Prayer" is diſtinctly mentioned in the Canons of 1603, and Miniſters are enjoined to inſtruct the youth in it. Canon 59 and 61.

of England, 1589, ſays, in anſwer to Martin the libeller, "For a Catechiſm, I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, Dean of Paul's, received and allowed by the Church of England, and very fully grounded upon the word of God. There may you ſee all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties expounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church of Rome rejected [n]."

The other is from the pen of archbiſhop Whitgift, in his anſwer to the ſame ſcurrilous Marprelate. It had been required in the Advertiſements of 1564, by virtue of the Queen's letters to Parker and others, that "young miniſters ſhould be inſtructed to make apt anſwers concerning the form of the Catechiſm preſcribed [o]" (whatever the book was, which was thus alluded to) and when Nowell's book was publiſhed, that

[n] Cooper's Admonition, f. 65. b. The clauſe, "Very fully grounded upon the word of God," evidently refers to Nowell's largeſt Catechiſm, or the abridgement of it, both which have the Scriptural authorities in the margin. And when he ſays, "received and allowed by the Church of England," he alludes, either to its reception in the Convocation of 1562, or to the injunction in the Canons of 1571, or to both.

[o] Sparrow's Canons, p. 126. Could this "Catechiſm, preſcribed" in or before 1564, be Nowell's ſmalleſt Catechiſm?

ſeems, in like manner, to have been recommended, or enjoined, to young miniſters in the dioceſe of London; of which Cartwright and others, conceited of their own talents and learning, complained, as a high indignity. Whitgift therefore ſaid, "That Catechiſm, which you in deriſion quote in the margin, is a book fit for you to learn alſo. And I know no man ſo well learned, but it may become him to read and learn that learned and neceſſary book [p]."

About the cloſe of Queen Anne's reign, ſome "ingenious perſon" tranſlated the middle Catechiſm into Engliſh, not knowing, as it ſeems, that it had been done before; and put it into the hands of a friend, deſiring him to "uſe the intereſt he had with the learned and pious Mr. Nelſon, to get his opinion of it; and, as he approved it, to requeſt that he would conſent to recommend it to the public."

Mr. Nelſon, having given it ſeveral peruſals, was ſo much pleaſed with its deſign and uſefulneſs, that he readily conſented to honour it with a Preface; but his lamented death, which happened ſoon afterwards, prevented

[p] In Strype's Ann. i. 354.

him from fulfilling his deſign. The taſk therefore of introducing it to the world devolved on Mr. Theobald; who, in his preface, informs us of theſe particulars, adding a ſhort account of the work; as originally written in Latin by Mr. Alexander Nowell; tranſlated into Greek by Mr. Whitaker; and now preſented in Engliſh, that it might be of more general uſe.

In this edition, which bears the title of "The Elements of Chriſtian Piety, being an Explanation of the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments [q]," moſt of the texts of Scripture, to which Nowell refers, are given at length from our public tranſlation; but ſome are omitted, and now and then another is ſubſtituted by the editor,

[q] London, 1715. 12mo. This little volume and Nowell's ſmalleſt Catechiſm above deſcribed, p. 181. &c. are both in my poſſeſſion from the library of the late Charles Baldwyn, Eſquire, of Mancheſter, a very ſtudious, learned, and excellent man, to whoſe kindneſs while living, though perſonally unknown, I was indebted for many favours; and now he is no more, I gratefully record him here as M. A. of Braſen Noſe college. He died Aug. 31, 1801. See Gent. Mag. 1803. p. 1110.

As to the editor of this Engliſh Catechiſm, I ſuſpect from the name, "L. Theobald," it might be the ſame Lewis Theobald, whom the poet "damned to everlaſting fame" in the firſt Dunciad, publiſhed firſt in 1722.

or, more probably, by the unknown author of the tranſlation.

Further honour at a later period awaited Nowell's Catechiſm. In 1792 Dr. Randolph, Canon of Chriſt Church and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Oxford (now, 1807, Biſhop of Bangor) publiſhed, under the title of *Enchiridion Theologicum*, a collection of ſhort comprehenſive tracts, with a view "to ſhew the genuine ſenſe of the Church of England in her earlieſt days, both as to the grounds of ſeparation from the Church of Rome, and the doctrines which ſhe at length finally adopted and ratified." For this purpoſe, directing his choice principally to "ſuch works as had the ſanction of public authority," he placed at the head of the firſt volume the Engliſh copy of the Catechiſm of Edward VI; which, being the "laſt work of the reformers of that reign, may be underſtood to contain, as far as it goes, their ultimate deciſion, and to repreſent the ſenſe of the Church of England as then eſtabliſhed." And with a ſimilar view he aſſigned the ſame poſt of precedence, in his ſecond volume, to Nowell's largeſt Catechiſm, as giving an account of the doctrines of the church, when it had been reſtored and eſtabliſhed under queen Eliza-

beth[r]. This judicious ſelection by the learned Profeſſor was ſo well approved and received, that the work, in five duodecimo volumes, has long been out of print.

Three years after this the learned and Right Reverend Dr. Cleaver, Principal of Braſen Noſe college and Biſhop of Cheſter (ſince of Bangor, and now, 1807, of St. Aſaph) anxious for the improvement both of his collegiate and epiſcopal charge, looking out for ſome theological work more full and comprehenſive than the common catechiſms, and leſs bulky than the generality of Theological Syſtems, which young men in the univerſity and candidates for holy orders might read with advantage, made choice of Nowell's Catechiſm, as beſt adapted to the deſign which he had in view. He therefore revived it in a new edition; and thus devoted it to the ſame important purpoſes, which it had ſo long and ably ſerved upon its firſt appearance. To this edition, introduced with a ſuccinct preface, and ſhort account of the author from that ſcarce book, the Heroologia of Henry Holland, there is ſubjoined the learned Diſputation of Voſſius on the Virtue

[r] See the Preface to Enchirid. Theolog.

and Efficacy of the Sacraments. Some few of Nowell's marginal references to texts of Scripture are omitted, as leſs neceſſary or leſs appoſite; references are given to later works of eminent divines; and notes are occaſionally added, chiefly on paſſages where the words of the author ſeemed to countenance the Calvinian notions. The abridgement or middle Catechiſm was printed the following year by the ſame Right Reverend Editor, for the ſame purpoſes, and with equal care.

SECTION VIII.

FROM this neceſſary digreſſion we return, and reſume the thread of our narrative in the year 1571; when the ſame Parliament that incorporated the two Univerſities [s], enjoined all clergymen to ſubſcribe the Thirty nine Articles of religion [t]. The original inſtrument, with the autographs of Laurence and Alexander Nowell and others, which once belonged to the learned Mr. Selden, is preſerved among his books in the public library at Oxford.

In this ſame year died that luminary of his country and of the Chriſtian name, biſhop Jewell, exhauſted with intenſe ſtudy and the labours of his profeſſion, before he had entered his fiftieth year. Many pens were employed to embalm his memory; and, among them, Nowell ſoothed his ſorrow on the occaſion in twenty ſix elegiac verſes [u].

[s] Wood's Annals, ii. 171.

[t] Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. viii. §. 55.

[u] At the end of Jewell's L. by Laur. Humphrey, printed by Day, 1573.

The alluſion, in theſe lines, to the name of Jewell was natural, though trite perhaps; but when he ſays, The portrait of the deceaſed leſſened the want and regret of "his placid countenance," we have a trait of character from one who well knew him.

When Nowell, as already mentioned[x], aſſiſted the archbiſhop in ſettling his ſchool at Rachdale in Lancaſhire, he was himſelf planning a ſimilar but more extenſive benefaction to that his native county; in the execution of which his beneficence and modeſty were alike conſpicuous. This was the endowment, at one and the ſame time, of a free School at Middleton in Lancaſhire, and of thirteen ſcholarſhips in Braſen Noſe college; and as theſe benefactions were both of them eſtabliſhed by royal patent (her Majeſty alſo of her free bounty encouraging and aſſiſting him) he choſe that the ſchool ſhould be called Queen Elizabeth's School[y], and the ſcholars Queen

[x] See above, p. 109.

[y] On the inner wall of the School, facing the great door, is this inſcription: "Libera Schola Reginæ Eliſabethæ

αξιαφηγητυ.

Cujus præſignis Reginæ auſpiciis pius admodum et orthodoxus vir Dr. Alex. Nowell Aulæ Regiæ et Coll. de Brazenoſe in Acad. Oxon. quondam Principalis et Eccleſ. Cathedr. St. Pauli London Decanus, ob pium erga patriam affectum, et ad bonarum

Elizabeth's Scholars. How much he had at heart this good work, for the encouragement of religion and learning, appears by a letter of his to the lord Treaſurer, while the patent of foundation lay in his hands; in which, by the advice of Sir Walter Mildmay, a blank was left for the mortmain, upon good hope, that it would pleaſe her Majeſty to licenſe a large ſum, for ſuch goodly uſes. He therefore "in her Majeſty's name humbly prayed his Honour to finiſh the good work, which he had ſo happily begun; and to move her Majeſty to licenſe the ſum of 100 l. or ſo many marks at the leaſt, by him and others to be purchaſed in mortmain, for the increaſe of the ſtipends of the ſchoolmaſter and uſher, and of the number and exhibition of the ſaid ſcholars, and the better relief of the great company of that poor college: and all to be done in her Majeſty's name [z]."

literarum profectum Scholam hanc fundavit, Didaſcalum pariter et Hypodidaſcalum honorario auxit competenti, anno regni Eliſab. xiiii. annoque Domini M. D. L. XXII." "This ſchool was new roofed and cieled 1781." Communicated by my very worthy friend, the Rev. Joſhua Brookes, M. A. of Braſen Noſe, Chaplain of the collegiate Church in Mancheſter, to whoſe kind inquiries and aſſiſtance theſe memoirs are in many parts indebted.

[z] June 24, 1572, Burghley MS. xv. No. 67. Strype's Ann. ii. 239.

It is a remark of Mr. Nelſon [a], that the connecting of a ſchool with a college is a wiſe contrivance to preſerve the ſchool in honour and reputation; and if the gradual decline of Middleton ſchool furniſhes an exception to the obſervation, the cauſe is to be ſought probably in the celebrity of the earlier ſchool of biſhop Oldham, in the large neighbouring town of Mancheſter, ſimilarly connected with three diſtinct colleges [b], and not in any defect of Nowell's inſtitution. For though political arithmetic has taught us, that the aſſignment of a ſpecific ſum for an office is not a well-deviſed proviſion, under the identity of human wants, and the perpetual fluctuation of the value of money; yet this overſight, common to Nowell with a thouſand other benefactors of their country, has not hindered the flouriſhing growth of other

[a] Life of Biſhop Bull, 1713. p. 10. Chriſtopher Waſe alſo, in his Conſiderations concerning Free Schools, 1678, p. 80. obſerves, that the annexing the patronage of a country free ſchool to ſome houſe in the Univerſity has been experienced mutually beneficial; and he inſtances, among others, the ſchools of Charlebury and Steeple Aſton in Oxfordſhire, and Middleton, Lancaſhire, belonging to Braſen Noſe college.

[b] Corpus Chriſti and Braſen Noſe in Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge.

ſeminaries, not originally more liberally endowed than the ſchool at Middleton.

By the charter of foundation, Auguſt 11, 1572[c], certain rent-charges, in London and elſewhere, are veſted in the Principal and Fellows of Braſen Noſe college, who are incorporated Governors of the Free School of Middleton in Lancaſhire, on condition that they pay to the upper Maſter twenty marks, and to the under Maſter or Uſher ten marks, yearly; and five marks apiece to thirteen ſcholars, choſen from that ſchool, or from the ſchool of Whalley or Burnley, or, in defect, from any other ſchool in the county. But the liberal donor having ſhortly afterwards bought of Sir Henry Cheney, Lord Cheney, and the Lady Jane his wife, the manor of Upberry, and the rectory of Gillingham in Kent, with the advowſon of the vicarage, he beſtowed theſe eſtates alſo on the college, in truſt, to augment the ſtipend of the maſter and uſher, and the allowance of the ſcholars, as well as to improve the weekly commons or allowance of the Principal and fellows.

[c] Reg. Nowell i. f. 432. an indenture Oct. 26, 1574, in which the patent at Gorhambury, Aug. 11, 1572, is recognized.

The manor of Gillingham and eſtates thereto appendant were part of the endowment of the ſee of Canterbury, in the time of the Conqueror, as appears by certain grants of archbiſhop Anſelm, remitting to the monks of St. Andrew's in Rocheſter part of the rent, which they uſed to pay for the right of fiſhing in the ſea, a privilege belonging to the ſaid manor [d]. The archiepiſcopal eſtates in this pariſh were alienated to the crown in the time of Henry VIII; and by him granted to the family of Cheney, who re-ſold them to Nowell. A part of the eſtate, on a commanding ſpot in Upberry, by recent purchaſe from the college of Braſen Noſe, has been re-inveſted in the crown, for the purpoſe of conſtructing barracks and other public works, in theſe days when the proud menaces of a neighbouring uſurper have ſerved only to rouſe, with redoubled ardour, the ancient ſpirit of Britons.

But Nowell's own account of theſe his benefactions is too memorable and intereſting to be omitted; eſpecially as it ſupplies, together with a royal donation hitherto unre-

[d] Hearne's Text. Roffenſ. 154. 159. More about Gillingham, ibid. 181. 380. Lambarde's Perambul. p. 385. Strype's Parker, p. 80.

corded, a new member and grateful benefactor to the college of Braſen Noſe, in the perſon of Robert Nowell, who was not before known ever to have "ſaluted the Oxford muſes." Some complaint made to Lord Burghley, who was overſeer of Robert Nowell's will, and an intimation in conſequence from his Lordſhip to the Dean, extorted from him, in his own juſtification, the recital of particulars, "which ought" otherwiſe, as he ſays, "with ſilence to be laid up in the lap of the poor, and in God's memory only."

His brother Robert Nowell, about ſix hours before he died, ſaid unto him, "Forget not Middleton ſchool (where we and other our brethren were taught in our childhood) and the college of Braſen Noſe, where we were brought up in our youth. And if you would procure any thing to continue, with my money, you ſhall do it beſt and moſt ſurely in the Queen's Majeſty's name, whoſe poor officer I have been [e]."

The dying requeſt of a beloved brother added ſpeed and alacrity to one, who was

[e] Burghley MS. lxxxii. No. 48. Nowell's hand, without date, but a pencil on the back ſays, "1596." The words in the parentheſis are from another letter of Nowell to the L. Treaſurer, March 13, 1594–5. ib. lxxviii. No. 18. See App. No. x.

never flow in the career of charity. He therefore began immediately to think of the foundation of Middleton ſchool, and of certain ſcholars to be choſen out of that ſchool into the college of Braſen Noſe, there to be maintained with certain exhibition.

And firſt, for three years ſpace, before he obtained the ſaid foundation, he ſent yearly twenty pounds to the Principal and fellows of that college, to be beſtowed upon ſix poor ſcholars. And when, by means of Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay, he had obtained the foundation of the ſchool, her Majeſty moſt graciouſly and bounteouſly giving freely that twenty pounds yearly for ever, which he would have purchaſed of her Majeſty, he was thereby more inflamed to go through with that, which he firſt intended. To that purpoſe therefore he purchaſed in reverſion of the Lord Cheney, as before mentioned, the manor of Upberry and impropriate rectory of Gillingham; for which he paid nine hundred pounds, and ten pounds, with a purſe of forty ſhillings, to my Lady for her conſent.

Nor was this all. For the lower chambers of the college being hitherto unboarded, and therefore dampiſh and unwholeſome, he cauſed

them thoroughly to be boarded, which coſt above forty pounds.

He would alſo before this time (1596) have built a fair ſchoolhouſe, with lodgings for the ſchoolmaſter and uſher, but that young Mr. Aſhton, lord of Middleton, being under age, could make no aſſurance of the ground, whereupon to build it. He therefore engaged to beſtow two hundred marks at the leaſt for that purpoſe, or leave that ſum to the college for that uſe, if he died before it was completed [f]. There was however a ſchoolhouſe already in exiſtence, though leſs commodious or ſubſtantial, I preſume, than fully to anſwer the generous wiſhes of the founder. For in the appointment of Robert Walkeden M. A. (a name not elſewhere found) to be Maſter of Queen Elizabeth's free ſchool in Middleton, in 1593, he aſſigns him a ſtipend of twenty pounds (a ſum exceeding the firſt endowment, the deficiency, no doubt, being ſupplied by his privy purſe) together with the chamber in the upper part of the ſchool, and the lower part of "the nethermoſt Barrow field," and an adjoining meadow, belonging to the ſchool, for life; on condition, that he

[f] MS. Burghley, ut ſupra. lxxxii. No. 48.

inſtruct his ſcholars in true piety, good manners, and uſeful learning [g].

In later days the maſter's place has uſually been given to the curates of Middleton; one of whom, Richard Dean, was the author of an ingenious eſſay on an unpromiſing ſubject, "The future life of Brutes, introduced with Obſervations upon Evil, its nature and origin," printed at Mancheſter, 1767 [h].

Before we take our leave of Nowell's benefaction to Braſen Noſe college, it ſhould be noted as peculiarly ſeaſonable; ſince in conſequence of a ſevere plague at Oxford, in the preceding year, and for want of exhibitions to aſſiſt them in their ſtudies, ſome of the ſcholars were compelled to go about, requeſting alms, having licence ſo to do, as an act of parliament required, under the common ſeal of the univerſity [i].

On the ſecond of June, 1572, the Duke of Norfolk, having ſome months before been found guilty of treaſonable practices with the

[g] Abſtr. of Compoſitions &c. of Braſen Noſe College, 1772, p. xxiv.

[h] Mr. Dean died and was buried at Middleton, Jan. 10, 1778. and was ſucceeded by the Rev. James Archer, the preſent maſter, 1807.

[i] Wood's Annals, ii. 171. ad ann. 1572.

Queen of Scots, was brought to his execution on tower hill, attended by Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the tower, Sir Henry Lee, Fox, who had been his preceptor, and Nowell his ſpiritual father. When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, after ſome little talk had with Nowell, who deſired the people to keep ſilence, he addreſſed them with a cheerful countenance and dauntleſs looks: "It is no rare thing, he ſaid, to ſee a man come to this place to take his death; though, in our Queen's gracious and moſt merciful reign, it is my fortune to be the firſt; and I pray to God I may be the laſt." To which the crowd gave a hearty, Amen. He then acknowledged himſelf guilty, but denied that it was ever his intention to deprive the Queen of her crown, or to invade the realm; and as to his religion, which was by ſome ſuſpected, he declared that he had ever been a Proteſtant, ſince he firſt knew what religion meant, truſting to be ſaved by faith in Chriſt alone. He acknowledged the Queen's clemency in forgiving his faults, and granting him ſo long a time for repentance, and thanked her gracious Majeſty, that it had pleaſed her to promiſe to be kind to his poor orphan children, which was his only requeſt. "And I beſeech

Almighty God to grant her a long, proſperous, and quiet reign over you. I could uſe a ſimilitude, though the occaſion and ſpeaker are very different, yet not unmeet for this time and place. I did once hear, in king Edward's time, Mr. Latymer, a good old and bleſſed martyr, preach, that he feared great plagues were to come upon the people for their exactions, and contentions, and diſobedience. On the contrary I hope verily, that this realm ſhall be bleſſed, and the ſtate of it moſt proſperous, by reaſon of your dutiful obedience to your Prince and her laws; which, by my death, I pray God you may take example to do."

Then deſiring the people to pray for him, he knelt down, and read with a loud voice two or three penitential pſalms; and when he ſaid, "Pray for the peace of Jeruſalem," the Dean reminded him, that Jeruſalem meant the church of Chriſt, "I know it, Mr. Dean, and mean it ſo, the church of this land, and all that believe in Chriſt."

Then he took leave of all the gentlemen upon the ſcaffold; and putting off his gown and doublet [k], ſtretched himſelf upwards,

[k] "Caſting [off] his gowne being of wrought velvett, and having on a doublett of black ſatten, with great pacyence [he]

looking towards heaven; and withal caſt his arms abroad, and with ſingular ſigns of loving affection embraced Mr. Nowell, with whom he had ſome ſecret talk, bowing his body even to the ground, with great humility. The axe, at his requeſt, was then ſhewed him. He refuſed to cover his eyes, when a cloth was offered him for that purpoſe, ſaying, "My fellow, I will not move; for I do not fear death; for I hope to go ſinging into heaven." Then, without any ſign of ſorrow, or alteration of countenance, he meekly offered his head upon the block to the executioner, and his ſoul to the mercy of Almighty God[1].

This unfortunate Nobleman, graceful in perſon, of a manly countenance, dignified and yet courteous in demeanour, wiſe in counſel, ſound and exemplary in religion, was wonderfully beloved, and greatly lamented; and what heightened the general regret for his fate, was the recollection of his father, the

kneled downe to the blocke, Mr. Nowell kneleing with him." Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xvii. 11. f. 388. He had juſt before, according to this MS. taken Mr. Nowell by the hand and embraced him.

[1] Strype's Annals, ii. 82. 129. App. No. xiii. Camden's Annals, 1615. p. 216—218. who ſays he was preſent at the trial and at the execution.

illuſtrious Henry earl of Surrey, a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar, of rare talents and of high military glory, who on the ſame ſpot, twenty five years before, fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Henry VIII.

The Paris maſſacre, on the ever memorable St. Bartholomew's day, cauſed very different ſenſations here and on the continent. The French King, glorying that the hour was come when all France ſhould be of one religion, gave ſolemn thanks, and cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung, with proceſſions and bonfires; while at Rome, whither the admiral Coligni's head, having been firſt preſented to the King and the Queen mother, was ſent to feaſt the eyes of his Holineſs and the cardinals, the pope proclaimed a jubilee, and ſtruck a medal, ſtill ſold without reſerve at the papal mint, avowing to all the world the unparalleled deed of treachery and carnage [m].

In England theſe "beacons," as they were termed [n], were viewed with abhorrence, and

[m] Ex ore viri præſtantiſſimi, Rogeri Newdigate, Baronetti, who bought one there. See Gent. Mag. 1784. p. 831. where is alſo an engraving of two medals ſtruck by the King of France on the ſame occaſion. See alſo Fox's Martyrs, ii. 2153. Strype's Parker, 351—358.

[n] By Sir Thomas Smith. See his L. by Strype, p. 165. 238. See alſo p. 162. 215.

not without alarm. The navy therefore was ſent to ſea with ſpeed, and the coaſt and the whole kingdom were put into a poſture of defence, as well againſt foreign force as domeſtic treachery; nor was religion, the beſt ſafeguard, overlooked or forgotten. Particular care was taken that preachers, at once learned and loyal, ſhould be appointed for the Croſs; Sandys biſhop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's intending to go up firſt, for an example to the reſt; and a form of prayer and public faſt were ordered, the whole nation calling themſelves to humiliation and repentance [o].

Cartwright's Admonition to Parliament, publiſhed about this time without a name, inveighing bitterly againſt the clergy, eſpecially the biſhops, and demanding a total abolition of the book of Common Prayer, was, like other things which complain of eſtabliſhed order and conſtituted authorities, eagerly read, and induſtriouſly diſſeminated; and as it was ſuppoſed to contain the combined ſtrength of the party, who were clamorous for their new Diſcipline and Platform, it was judged proper that it ſhould be

[o] Strype's Annals, ii. 151—160. It was computed that not leſs than ten thouſand were killed in three days.

anſwered by ſome able divine. Accordingly Whitgift, dean of Lincoln, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, took it in hand; but when his Anſwer was nearly ready for the preſs, Mr. Norton, of whom we have already heard, whether a clergyman or lawyer, which has been variouſly conjectured, wrote to him to diſſuade him from publiſhing: "One thing, at leaſt, he ſays, I would ſeriouſly adviſe you, before you go any further in your book, to confer with ſome grave and wiſe men, and eſpecially ſuch as have been rather beholders, than actors in this tragedy; as the Dean of Paul's, and the Dean of Windſor," and to abide by their judgement, whether by publiſhing you are likely to benefit the cauſe, or to pleaſe the papiſts by continuing the diſpute[p].

Whitgift's anſwer to this friendly advice carried full conviction to Norton's mind, as he frankly acknowledged in a letter to the archbiſhop, with whoſe knowledge and approbation the Anſwer to the Admonition had been undertaken; and the work in a ſhort time came out, worthy of the occaſion and

[p] Strype's Whitgift, p. 29. 30—32. and L. of Parker, p. 364.

of the author, to whoſe future promotion it contributed [q].

A confederacy of foreign princes, encouraged by the pope as well as by many among the Engliſh papiſts [r], threatening to invade the realm, in the preſent conjuncture, when the church was ſo rudely aſſailed by the advocates of the new diſcipline, the vigilant Queen and her no leſs vigilant counſellors ſaw it was high time to provide for the ſecurity of the ſtate and of the eſtabliſhed religion. A proclamation therefore was iſſued againſt papiſts and their ſeditious books [s], and two againſt the puritans and contemners of the book of Common Prayer [t]. A ſpecial commiſſion alſo was granted to the Biſhop of London, the Lord chief Juſtice of England, Sir Walter Mildmay, the Dean of St. Paul's and others, the better to enforce the act of uniformity [u].

[q] Sir J. Harrington ſays, "Cartwright's books not unlearnedly written, were more learnedly anſwered by Dr. Whitgift. Both had their reward." &c. Brief View, p. 7.

[r] Strype's Annals, ii. 254. L. of Parker, p. 438.

[s] Strype's Ann. ii. 255. L. of Parker [444] with 442. 477.

[t] Ames, p. 723. Sparrow's Canons, p. 169. Strype's Ann. ii. 255. L. of Parker, [446] 454.

[u] Rymer, xv. p. 725.

A horrid principle of the puritanical party, common to them with that corrupt church which they pretended to abhor, was that the end ſanctifies the means; and that it was lawful to kill thoſe, who oppoſed their endeavours to introduce their model and diſcipline. One Burchet, a furious zealot in this way, aſſaſſinated Hawkins, a captain of the navy, in the public ſtreets, miſtaking him for Mr. afterwards Sir Chriſtopher, Hatton; which ſo alarmed and exaſperated the Queen, that ſhe ordered the man to be examined and executed immediately by martial law. But yielding to milder counſel, and ſuffering law to take its uſual courſe, which proved the innocent occaſion of a ſecond murder, committed by him on the perſon of his keeper, ſhe commanded, that he ſhould be examined before his execution, not only by the Solicitor General and the Recorder of London, but likewiſe by the Dean of St. Paul's, if he were in London, or by the Dean of Weſtminſter; who ſhould endeavour by all means to learn from him, whether he knew any who entertained ſimilar notions with himſelf, and to perſuade him to diſburthen his conſcience for the ſake of his ſoul [x].

[x] Strype's Ann. ii. 288.

Cartwright, who had been educated at Cambridge, and was bachelor of divinity in that univerſity, was the chief pillar of the puritanical party, and cauſed great diſturbance by preaching and writing againſt the conſtitution of the church. The Queen therefore required, that he ſhould be apprehended, and brought to trial for his miſdemeanors, before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; and a ſtrict warrant for that purpoſe was iſſued in the name of the biſhop of London, the Attorney and Solicitor General, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others, commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical purpoſes[y]; but whether he was actually laid hold on at this time, does not appear. He was certainly at liberty afterwards, and ſuffered to enjoy quietly his hoſpital at Warwick, where he died in affluence, deeply lamenting the troubles and ſchiſm, which he had fomented; and earneſtly wiſhing he were to begin life again, that by his altered conduct he might ſhew his diſlike of his former ways[z]. John Dod, the famous decalogiſt,

[y] Dec. 11, 1573. Strype's Ann. ii. 282.

[z] Strype's Whitg. p. 554. Cartwright was one of the diſputants before the Queen at Cambridge in 1564. and is ſaid to have been diſpleaſed that he was not rewarded by her. Defid. Curioſ. L. vii. No. xv. §. 22. n.

born at Shockledge in Cheſhire, fellow of Jeſus College, Cambridge, preached his funeral ſermon [a].

But though the proceedings as well againſt the papiſts as ſectaries, in theſe days of conſpiracy and danger, were not without rigour, one inſtance only of burning heretics (and that one to be lamented) is found throughout the reign of Elizabeth. Two anabaptiſts, John Peters and Henry Turwert, Flemings by birth (for as yet that ſect had not infected the Queen's Engliſh ſubjects) having been pronounced heretics by the biſhops of London and Rocheſter, the Maſter of the Rolls, and two Juſtices of the Common Pleas (Manwood and Mounſon) with the Deans of St. Paul's and Weſtminſter, acting under a ſpecial commiſſion from the Queen [b], ſhe, by her warrant to the ſheriff of London [c], commanded them to be burnt in Smithfield; which was accordingly done, the meek and humane John Fox and the Dutch congregation having interceded for them in vain [d].

[a] Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 6. Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 86.

[b] Rymer, xv. 740.

[c] Ibid. 741.

[d] July 22, 1575. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 104. and Stow's Chron.

We have ſtated the fact as the writ ſtates it; but Strype ſays[e], the chief cauſe of their ſuffering was, becauſe they denied the authority of the magiſtrate, and had returned from baniſhment, to which they had been ſentenced a year before.

Moſt ſects grow aſhamed of the extravagances of their firſt founders, and tacitly ſoften down or explain away the dogmas, which are found moſt repugnant to Scripture and common ſenſe. The anabaptiſts have long ago relinquiſhed the principle of the community of men's goods, held by their legitimate anceſtors, the anabaptiſts of Germany and of Holland; but they are ſuppoſed ſtill to cheriſh, with ſecret fondneſs, the kindred maxim, that the ſaints alone, that is themſelves, ought to govern.

Parkhurſt's Sports or Juvenile Epigrams, which from the date of the preface at Zurich in 1558, ſeem to have been printed, as many of them were written, abroad, while the author was an exile in Mary's days, were publiſhed at London in 1573, when he was biſhop of Norwich. Among the commendatory verſes prefixed to the volume, by

[e] Annals, ii. 380.

Dr. Wilſon, Maſter of Requeſts (under whoſe care the book was printed[f]) and by others, there is one copy by Nowell; to whom alſo two of the epigrams are addreſſed. One of them, which by the expreſſion of "ſubduing barbariſm" ſeems to allude to Nowell in the combined character of a claſſical preceptor and a teacher of the goſpel, appeared in Engliſh in Kendall's Flowers of Epigrams, 1577[g]. As both works are extremely ſcarce, the Latin diſtich and Engliſh tranſlation may not be unacceptable:

"Ad Alexandrum Nouellum.

Magnus Alexander domuit (quod magnum opus) orbem:
Barbariem ipſe domas: hoc puto majus opus[h].

Great Alexander all the world
did in ſubjection bringe:
Rude barbarous people thou doſt tame;
thou doſt a greater thing."

[f] Strype's Parker, p. 383. Annals, ii. 232. App. xxiv.

[g] In the library of T. Park, Eſquire, London.

[h] Parkhurſt Juvenilia by J. Daye, 1573. 4to. p. 26. The other epigram addreſſed to Nowell, p. 63, is this:

Quod nos Chriſticolæ confundimus omnia bellis,
Quod dura miſeri pauperie premimur,
Nos ſumus in cauſſa, quibus eſt peccare voluptas,
Et quod negligimus verba ſacrata Dei.

Parkhurſt remembers Nowell among other friends in a letter to Fox in 1562-3 [i]. His epigrams, affording notices of perſons and things not elſewhere eaſily found, are on the Grecian rather than the Roman model, not ſparkling with wit, but grave and didactic. The author of them, mild and conciliating, like his pupil [k] Jewell, in the exerciſe of his authority as a biſhop, but peremptory when the caſe required it, demands the gratitude of poſterity, if it were only for the ſententious remark, with which he diſmiſſed a puritan, preſented to him for admiſſion to a ſchool in his dioceſe; who was reported to condemn the reading of profane authors to children: "Then dare I boldly ſay, he ſhall never bring up good ſcholars [l]." He died about two years after the publication of his poems, in the ſixty third year of his age [m], with the character at once of a learned pious and good man, and very vigilant biſhop.

John Baret of Cambridge, who had traveled

[i] Strype's Ann. i. 407.

[k] Ath. Oxon. i. 168.

[l] Strype's Ann. ii. 292.

[m] Feb. 2, 1574-5. Ath. Oxon. i. 179. And ſee Gent. Mag. 1807. p. 509—511. where the ſingle but ſevere objection to his Epigrams, which Wood "could not perceive," and I have not diſcovered, is, I hope, unfounded.

in many countries beyond the ſeas for language and learning, compiled a triple Dictionary, in Engliſh, Latin, and French; of which as the materials were collected by his pupils in their daily exerciſe, like ſo many diligent bees gathering honey to their hive, he called it their Alvearie. But when, at the importunity of friends, who had ſeen and uſed the work, he conſented that it ſhould appear in print, other difficulties aroſe. For "ſurely," he ſays, "had not the right honorable Sir Thomas Smith, knight, principal Secretary to the Queenes Maieſtie, that noble Theſeus of learning, and comfortable patrone to all ſtudents, and the right worſhipfull Maiſter Nowell Deane of Pawles, many wayes incouraged mee in this weary worke, (the charges were ſo great, and the loſſe of my time ſo much grieved mee) I had neuer bene able alone to haue wraſtled againſt ſo many troubles, but long ere this had cleane broken of our worke begunne, and caſt it by for ever."

It was printed by Denham in 1573, with a Latin dedication to the univerſal Mæcenas, Baron Burghley, and various recommendatory verſes, among which the Latin of Cook and Grant, the celebrated Maſters of St. Paul's

and Weſtminſter, and the Engliſh of Arthur Golding, the tranſlator of Ovid's Metamorphoſis, have chief merit. The book, a moderate folio, was more commodious in ſize than in form; for as there is only one alphabet, the Latin and French words are to be traced back by means of tables at the end of the volume. In the ſcarcity however of Dictionaries, ſo many were glad to cull "ſugred wordes and phraſes," as one of the eulogiſts ſpeaks, from this ſtorehouſe of ſweets, that a ſecond edition, with the title of a "Quadruple Dictionarie" (the Greek, thinly ſcattered in the firſt impreſſion, being now added) "newlie enriched with varietie of wordes, phraſes, proverbs, and diuers lightſome obſeruations of Grammar," came out after the deceaſe of the author, in 1580[n]; when another London ſchoolmaſter of high repute gave his ſuffrage in its praiſe, Richard Mulcaſter, the firſt maſter of Merchant Taylors' ſchool, afterwards choſen to St. Paul's, author of a famous catechiſm in Latin verſe (a tranſlation of the Church Catechiſm) for the uſe of that

[n] Ames, p. 949. Ainſworth, in the hiſtorical preface to his Dictionary, ſpeaks of the Alvearie of 1580 as "a valuable performance for thoſe times;" but was not aware that there had been a former impreſſion of it.

ſchool, and of other learned works [o], chiefly on education, which contain, as Mr. Warton ſays, "many judicious criticiſms and obſervations on the Engliſh language [p]."

A book in Latin, in behalf of the new or preſbyterian diſcipline, came out in the year 1574; which the archbiſhop, ever attentive to the welfare of the church, was deſirous to have well anſwered; and Nowell, with Aylmer and Still (both of them afterwards diſtinguiſhed as biſhops) and others were recommended for that purpoſe by Grindal, archbiſhop of York; but all of them, as it ſhould ſeem, declining it, the book was anſwered by ſome unknown hand, probably one of the archbiſhop's chaplains [q]. The work itſelf, being anonymous, was ſuppoſed to be written by Travers, memorable for the trouble which he afterwards gave the meek and learned Hooker. Whoever was the author of it, the tract, which was ſubſcribed by

[o] Ath. Oxon. i. 369. And his life in Gent. Mag. 1800. p. 419. 511. 603. I ſuſpect a tetraſtich in the firſt edition of Baret, under the name of "Richardus Moncaſterus," was by him. It is omitted in the edition of 1580, and we have, inſtead, thirty long and ſhort verſes, under his proper name, Mulcaſter.

[p] Hiſt. Poet. iii. 345.

[q] Strype's Parker, p. 480. L. of Aylmer, p. 22.

all the Diſciplinarians, was afterwards in great vogue, having been reviewed and corrected by Cartwright; and, from a copy found in his ſtudy after his death, was reprinted, as the troubles of Frankford (penned by ſome congenial ſpirit) were, for the ſame purpoſe, in 1644, to promote the godly cauſe of diſſenſion and diſobedience.

And here, as this is the laſt time, that we have occaſion to mention Cartwright, of whoſe final concern for his non-conformity we lately heard[r], it may not be amiſs to produce a ſhort ſpecimen of his talents and manner of writing; for he was reckoned a man of learning, had been the Margaret Profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge; and was the leader of thoſe who complained of the Engliſh reformation as incomplete, and laboured to introduce a more godly and perfect form of diſcipline.

When a learned man, trained from his youth in theological ſtudies, writes to a learned man, his friend, on the important ſubject of prayer, we expect what is elevated wiſe and pious. Mr. Cartwright, addreſſing Sir Michael Hickes, the tried and confidential

[r] See above, p. 216.

ſecretary of the profound Burghley, ſays, "Prayer being as it were a bunch of keys, whereby we go to al the treaſures and ſtore-houſes of the Lord; his buttries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe[s]." Does fanaticiſm extinguiſh all taſte and judgement? or is it only in minds originally weak, that the infection can fix itſelf? Which ever way the reader may ſolve the problem, he will naturally aſk, Was this the man, that was to improve what had been done by Cranmer and Ridley, by Parker and Nowell, and their great coadjutors? to give us a form of worſhip more pure and edifying, more dignified and devout?

"Is this the region, this the ſoil, the clime,
That we muſt change for heaven? this mournful gloom
For that celeſtial light?"

Nowell is ſaid to have "enlarged[t]," and to have been "the author of much good to,

[s] Strype's Whitg. App. p. 184.

[t] "He--enlarged the ſchools of St. Paul." Epitome of Eccleſ. Hiſt. by I. S. Gent. p. 205. 4th edition enlarged with many lives, concluding with queen Anne, 1705. In the poſſeſſion of Mr. Brookes, Mancheſter.

St. Paul's School [u];" which perhaps is to be underſtood of his conſtant patronage and encouragement, rather than of any ſpecific benefaction, of which no certain inſtance has come to our knowledge; unleſs the following donation, or arrangement rather, by the Dean and Chapter, for the benefit of St. Paul's ſchool, may be regarded in that light. John Reſton, D. D. Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, and Maſter of Jeſus college, Cambridge, noted as the firſt who from the claſs of fellows was raiſed to that dignity [x], founded one fellowſhip and ſeven ſcholarſhips in that ſociety; but thirteen tenements in Aldermanbury, part of the benefaction conveyed to the college by his executors, having been

Life by Donald Lupton. Both perhaps from his epitaph: "Scholæ Paulinæ plurimorum bonorum auctori."

x "Primus qui e Sociorum numero cuſtos inclaruit." Dr. Sherman in his MS. Hiſtory of this college, an extract from which, with other particulars on the ſubject, was moſt obligingly communicated (Oct. 7. 1808.) by Dr. Pearce, the preſent Maſter. See and correct Newcourt, i. 196. who calls him Royſton. Preb. Pancras, Oct. 30, 1529. void by his death before Aug. 24, 1551. Fuller alſo calls him Royſton, Hiſt. Camb. p. 86. He himſelf, Dr. Sherman obſerves, always wrote his name Reſton; and ſo it is in the Regiſters of St. Paul's, where as "Reſidentiary and Prebendary of Pancras," he was Preſident of the Chapter at the election of William May, Dean of St. Paul's, 15 Feb. 1545. Reg. A. f. 156—158.

heretofore given to St. Paul's, by Sir John Beauchamp, knight, to maintain a chantry prieſt in that church [y], the title of the college was thought to be open to exception or litigation. The Dean and Chapter therefore, for themſelves and their ſucceſſors, relinquiſhed all claim to the ſaid houſes in Aldermanbury; and the college, on their part, granted to the Dean and Chapter the right of nominating to two of Dr. Reſton's ſcholarſhips, candidates choſen, from time to time, from St. Paul's ſchool, or, in defect, from any other [z]. Dr. Ithell, chancellor to Nowell's friend and fellow exile, Cox biſhop of Ely, was Maſter of Jeſus college at that time [a]; kinſman perhaps, as the name is not common, to Benedict Ithell, Eſquire, of Temple Dinſley in Hertfordſhire, who is mentioned, at a later period, as having in his poſſeſſion a curious portrait of Dean Colet [b], founder of St. Paul's ſchool.

[y] Dugd. St. Paul's, by Maynard, p. 39.

[z] Indent. 8 Feb. 17 Eliz. (1574-5.) Reg. Nowell, i. 431.

[a] Drake's Parker, p. xxii. Strype's L. of Parker, p. 380. Ithell was one in a commiſſion, 1576, for viſiting St. John's college, when the Maſter was removed, and Dr. Still was made Maſter. Strype's Whitg. p. 70.

[b] Knight's L. of Colet, 1724. p. 257.

"I tell you, Sirs," ſaid Henry VIII. to ſome of his hungry courtiers, fleſhed with the abbey lands, and wiſhing to ſpoil colleges alſo; "I tell you, Sirs, that I judge no land in England better beſtowed, than that which is given to our univerſities [c]." Senſible of the truth of this royal maxim, many opulent citizens did voluntarily what the wealthy clergy, in the beginning of the reformation, were by royal Injunctions required to do [d], in contributing to the maintenance of ſcholars in either univerſity. Some of theſe generous citizens, eight in number, who had long been exhibiters to Magdalen college, Cambridge, ſigned an humble petition to Lord Burghley, recommending the bearer of it, Stephen Richman, to his honourable favour for the maſterſhip of that houſe, in the room of Dr. Kelke deceaſed; "underſtanding that the gift thereof was in his Lordſhip's hands," and commending Richman, on their own knowledge, as one from his childhood brought up in that college by their exhibition, and "for ability in learning, zeal in religion, and charitable diſpoſition to-

[c] Wood's Annals, ii. p. 67.

[d] Injunct. Edw. VI. Sparrow's Canons, p. 6. Injunct. Eliz. ibid. p. 71. See alſo p. 28. 35.

wards poor ſcholars," a fit perſon for the government of the ſociety, of which he had been fellow and preſident. The petition, very fairly written, was ſeconded by a poſtſcript from the Dean of St. Paul's, who aſſured his Lordſhip, he verily thought that in granting this ſuit, he would "doe a deede verie acceptable to Almighty God, who have your goode Lordeſhippe alwayes in hys bleſſede kepynge [e]."

The patronage of this college, as is well known, was veſted by the founder in the lord of Audley End, for the time being, which at this time was Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, a minor. But whether by the attainder of his father, the Duke of Norfolk, this with other privileges of the family was merged in the crown, and ſo was virtually in the diſpoſal of the lord Treaſurer, or whether it was deferred to his Lordſhip as a compliment, there is no doubt but the nomination, in this inſtance, was in his hands. And therefore certain perſons in London,

[e] Nowell's poſtſcript is dated Jan. 13, 1575. Paper Office. For the privilege of examining this national repoſitory I am indebted, through the obliging introduction of the Right Honourable John Hiley Addington, to the liberality of John Bruce, Eſquire, Keeper of State Papers.

ſome of them lately fellows and others members of that ſociety, addreſſed a well-penned Latin epiſtle to his Lordſhip, in behalf of the ſame candidate, without any ſolicitation on his part, or intereſt of their own to ſerve, but moved thereto ſolely, as they ſaid, by a ſenſe of duty and regard for the college, conceiving him to be, from his ſingular erudition, piety, and other qualifications, the fitteſt perſon for the ſituation [f]. Richman however, in whoſe praiſe and recommendation ſo many perſons freely concurred, did not obtain the honour of the appointment; which was conferred on Richard Howland, fellow of Peter Houſe, who was tranſlated two years afterwards to the headſhip of St. John's, and in 1584 advanced to the biſhopric of Peterborough.

In theſe days the biſhops, who eſteemed it

[f] Burghley MS. xxi. No. 46. "London. poſtridie idus Januar." 14 Jan. Kelke, who was alſo archdeacon of Stow, died on the 6th of that month, as I learn from Dr. Gretton, the preſent worthy Maſter of Magdalen college; who alſo informs me, that in 1577 Henry Coppinger was nominated by the Queen, but the patron above named, or thoſe in whoſe wardſhip he was, conteſting his title, he preſently reſigned. In 1595 Dr. Goad and ſome other Heads recommended Mr. Neale to L. Burghley for the headſhip of Magdalen. Burghley MS. LXXIX. No. 66. But neither did that recommendation ſucceed.

a point of duty not to rob their ſucceſſors, and impoveriſh their ſees, by alienating their eſtates, or granting long leaſes of them to court-favourites, or other great men, had often a very difficult and delicate part to act. Cox, biſhop of Ely, the venerable preceptor of Edward VI. whoſe various merits ſhould have procured him reſpect and repoſe in his old age, ſuffered infinite trouble, becauſe he modeſtly but firmly reſiſted applications of this ſort for ſome of his beſt houſes and manors. Obloquy was ſet to work, and charges equally ſevere and unfounded were preferred againſt him, by his own tenants and others, ſeduced by his enemies. One of theſe, not involved in the guilt, or with ſome compunction for it, came to him with a letter in his hand from the Dean of St. Paul's, intreating his favour, that he might not loſe his leaſe, which his under-tenant had forfeited without his knowledge. The biſhop, in his anſwer, aſſured the Dean, that nothing was leſs his intention, than to take away the leaſe; and alſo directed his receiver to ſay to Mr. Nowell, by word of mouth, that he was minded ſo to deal with the young man, that Mr. Nowell ſhould well like of it [g].

[g] Strype's Annals, ii. 368. App. p. 97.

In this inſtance there ſeems to have been little need of any interceſſion, other than might be found in the integrity and benevolence of the worthy prelate. But Nowell ſtands on record as "an eſpecial reconciler of contentions and law-ſuits. Witneſs for ever to his praiſe," ſays the biographer, "that agreement and unity, which he alone procured between Sir Thomas Greſham and Sir John Ramſey, being fallen out, and fully intending to proſecute their cauſes at law; but by this reverend Divine's perſuaſion and mediation were made friends, and ſo continued to their dying day [h]." There can be no reaſon to queſtion the truth of this fact, ſo circumſtantially related, though it eſcaped the reſearches of the learned and exact biographer of Greſham; but as I find no Sir John Ramſey about this time, I ſuſpect there is a miſtake in the name, and that the perſon intended was Sir Thomas Ramſey [i], who was lord Mayor of London in 1577, two years before the deceaſe of the memorable founder of the Royal Exchange; to whoſe will, dated

[h] Nowell's L. by Lupton.

[i] "The poore man's Jewell, that is to ſay, A treatiſe of the Peſtilence" was ded. by Thomas Braſbridge To Sir Thomas Ramſey Kn. Lord Maior of London, 1580. Ames, p. 1012.

July 5, 1575, one of the witneſſes was Henry Nowell [k], but whether a kinſman of the Dean, I have not diſcovered.

Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, died in or about the month of October, 1576; for his will is dated the 7th of that month, and he was ſucceeded in the deanery by George Boleyn on the 22d of November following, though his will was not proved till Auguſt 26, 1577, and then by his widow and executrix only, though his "five ſons" (not mentioned by name) were appointed joint executors with her [l]. But they probably were all of them under age, unleſs Daniel and Edward Glover, his wife's ſons by her former huſband, to whom he leaves 10l. each, were included in the number; for only two ſons of Laurence Nowell have been found, and the elder of them, of his own name, was a commoner of Braſen Noſe, aged 18, in 1590 [m]. He left alſo three daughters, Catharine, Sarah, and

[k] Ward's L. of Greſham, p. 25.

[l] Prerog. Office, Daughtry xxxiii.

[m] Ath. Oxon. i. 186. He was baptized Dec. 7, 1571. Extr. from Reg. of St. Mary's, Lichfield; where theſe baptiſms alſo occur: Mary daughter of Mr. Laurence Nowell, Sept. 16, 1567. Sara, May 1, 1569. Thomas, Apr. 5, 1573. Marie, Aug. 1, 1574. as I am obligingly informed by Samuel Pipe Wolferſtan, Eſq. of Statfold, Staffordſhire.

Mary, bequeathing to each of them 100l. and had buried another Mary. Mary was their mother's name, and from the coincidence of the name and ſituation, I have ſometimes conjectured ſhe was the niece of biſhop Latimer, Mary the widow of Robert Glover, who was burnt at Coventry; but as he had a ſon and heir named Hugh [n], that leſſens the probability of the conjecture, unleſs Hugh were the martyr's ſon by a former wife.

Laurence Nowell was entered of Braſen Noſe in 1536, the ſame year when his elder brother in the ſame college became B. A. After a little while, Wood ſays, he went to Cambridge, was admitted to the degree of B. A. in that univerſity, and re-incorporated at Oxford in July 1542, where he proceeded M. A. 18 March, 1544. In 1546, as already mentioned [o], he was appointed Maſter of the Grammar ſchool at Sutton Colfield; but was not yet, as Wood makes him, in ſacred orders; for he was not ordained a deacon till 1550 [p]. During the troubles in Mary's days

[n] Dugd. Warw. by Thomas, p. 1054. Theſe Glovers, as I learn from Mr. Wolferſtan, were of Baxterley in Warwickſhire; and Edward Glover of Baxterley is mentioned, ibid. p. 1063.

[o] P. 12.

[p] Ibid.

he was concealed for ſome time in the houſe of Sir John Perrot, at Carew caſtle in Pembrokeſhire; where, beſides the knight himſelf, he found two others of his own perſuaſion, Mr. Perrot (Sir John's uncle) who had been Reader of the Greek tongue in the reign of Edward VI. and a gentleman of the name of Baniſter. But, before the Queen died, he went to his brother Alexander and the exiles in Germany [q]. On his return he was made Archdeacon of Derby and Dean of Lichfield, April 29, 1559; had the prebend of Ferring in the cathedral of Chicheſter, Auguſt 9, 1563, and of Ampleford in York, May 27, 1566, and the rectory of Haughton and Drayton Baſſet, in the county of Stafford [r]. A leaſe of certain lands in Spalding and Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln, was granted by the crown to Laurence Nowell, in the ſecond year of Mary's reign [s]; but as our Laurence was little likely to aſk, or Mary to beſtow, favours on men of his principles, I preſume the grantee was ſome other perſon, perhaps of the Wentworth family; for the

[q] Bale ad fin. Cent. ix. gives a liſt of the names of Engliſh exiles, and among them is, "Alex. Nouellus cum fratre."

[r] Wood, ut ſupra. Tanner Biblioth. Willis's Cathedr. i. 115. 400. 421.

[s] Pat. 1 & 2 Phil. et Mar. p. 15. Feb. 1. (1554-5.) Rolls.

Noells of Rutland often wrote their name, as the Lancaſhire Nowells did invariably, Nowell. At a later period, 17 Elizabeth, the Dean of Lichfield purchaſed a houſe and eſtate at Sheldon in Warwickſhire, and a meadow in the pariſh of Coleſhill in that county, of John Jeffreys, Gentleman, who covenanted to deliver the title deeds to him at his houſe, in the Cloſe at Lichfield [t].

He was, as Wood truly notes, "a moſt diligent ſearcher into venerable antiquity." He had alſo this peculiar merit, that he revived and encouraged the neglected ſtudy of the Saxon language, ſo eſſential to the accurate knowledge of our legal antiquities, as well as to the elucidation of eccleſiaſtical and civil hiſtory. In theſe ſtudies, while he reſided, as is ſaid, in the chambers of his brother Robert Nowell in one of the inns of court, he had the celebrated William Lambarde for his pupil, who availed himſelf of his notes and aſſiſtance in compoſing his learned work on the ancient laws of England.

He wrote a Saxon vocabulary or dictionary, ſtill extant in manuſcript, which from the

[t] Clauſ. Rolls, 17 Eliz. p. 4. The purchaſe was 400l. The eſtates had lately belonged to William Blackenhall of Oddington in Oxfordſhire.

time when it was firſt written, 1567, has "numbered" various "good intellects." It was given by the author to his pupil Lambarde. From him it paſſed to Somner, the learned antiquary of Canterbury, who made uſe of it in compiling his Saxon Dictionary. It then came into the hands of Mr. Selden, and is now, with other books of that great man, printed and manuſcript, repoſited in Bodley's library at Oxford. Franciſcus Junius alſo had a copy of it, and, as Wood ſays, makes honourable mention of the author. The hiſtorian of Leeds had a quarto manuſcript, intitled "Polychronicon," a miſcellaneous collection, as it ſeems, containing perambulations of foreſts and other matters, an original in the hand writing of Laurence Nowell, 1565 [u]. There is alſo a volume of *Collectanea* by him, chiefly relating to eccleſiaſtical affairs, in the Cotton library [x], a quarto of a ſmall ſize, rendered ſmaller by the fire, which injured many books in that invaluable collection. The Saxon deeds and tranſcripts, of which there are not a few in the volume, are in a very beautiful hand; but where the

[u] Thoreſby's Leeds, p. 531. MSS. in 4to. No. 118.

[x] Vitellius, D. vii.

extracts are in Latin, and therefore more eaſy to be read, he did not take pains to write better than other laborious collectors have done.

"*Vatis avarus Non temere eſt animus.*"

The learned works, on which the Dean of Lichfield employed his leiſure, afford a preſumptive argument, that he was a good man. A letter to archbiſhop Parker, 2 June, 1567, in which he intercedes for two non-conformiſts, members probably of the cathedral at Lichfield, one of them promiſing to conform, the other alleging ſickneſs as a preſent excuſe, and promiſing to attend divine ſervice as God ſhould enable him [y], is a more direct proof of his humanity; and his will, though

[y] MS. Parker cxiv. No. 320. p. 883. Mr. Walker alleged ſickneſs; John Belſhaw promiſed to conform. Of the latter nothing further is known. Walker, no doubt, was Mr. Richard Walker (not Roger, as Ath. Oxon. i. 714. F. 14.) Archdeacon of Stafford (1547) and Prebendary of Prees in the church of Lichfield, and Dean of Cheſter, who died ſoon after this letter mentioned his ſickneſs, giving directions in his will (dated Sept. 4, and proved Nov. 11, 1567. Broſter's Cheſter Cathedral, 1793, p. 56.) that he ſhould be buried in the cathedral at Lichfield. He was ſucceeded in his deanery, Oct. 4, 1567, by John Piers, afterwards archbiſhop of York. Finally this Mr. Richard Walker appears to be the ſame who was ordained and preferred by Lee, biſhop of Lichfield, as mentioned in the Life of biſhop Smyth, p. 87. See Willis Cathedr. i. 419. 455.

it ſeems to carry marks of the preſſure of ſickneſs, evinces at once the ſoundneſs of his faith, and the diſintereſtedneſs of his charity. For though he left behind him a widow with eight children, all under age (unleſs, as before conjectured, the two Glovers were included in the number) yet, beſides kind legacies to friends and domeſtics, he bequeathed the ſum of one hundred pounds to the poor of the pariſhes, where he had charge. His brother Alexander and his uterine brother John Towneley, Eſquire, were overſeers of his will, to have the care of his children, if his wife, their immediate guardian, married again.

SECTION IX.

SEVERAL books, now very ſcarce, were about this time dedicated to the Dean of St. Paul's. The firſt of theſe was the Schoolmaſter, or Teacher of Table Philoſophy, "a moſt pleaſant and merrie companion, wel worthy to be welcomed (for a daily gheaſt) not only to all mens boorde;—but alſo into every mans companie at all tymes, to recreate their mindes with honeſt mirth and delectable deviſes [z]." It is anonymous, but

[z] London, 1576. 4to. Ames, p. 1040. The late Mr. Brand had a copy of this very rare book, and very kindly tranſcribed the Dedication for me. It is now (1807) the property of Richard Heber, Eſquire. T. T. (the ſame perſon, I preſume) wrote "Wonderful Effects of late dayes come to paſſe—conferred with the preſignification of the Comete or Blaſing Star, which appeared—10 Nov. laſt." 28 Nov. 1578. ib. p. 1042. and "A ſhorte and pithie Diſcourſe concerning the engendering tokens and effects of all Earthquakes in general: particularly applyed to that 6 April, 1580." ib. 1043. Library of R. Gough, Eſquire. Mr. Beloe (Anecd. of Literature, 1807. ii. p. 70.) quotes "An ould facioned Love, or a Love of the ould facion by T. T. Gent." 1594. which is perhaps by the ſame author. Twyne died and was buried at Lewes, aged 70, in 1613. Ath. Oxon. i. 387. Mr. Warton cites an elegy of Twyne's, Hiſt. Poet. iii. 288. and gives a circumſtantial account of the author, ib. 396, &c.

from the initials, "T. T." I preſume it was the production of Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, educated as a ſcholar in Corpus Chriſti college, Oxford; who afterwards practiſed phyſic with great ſucceſs at Lewes in Suſſex, where his patron, Thomas lord Buckhurſt, lived. He tranſlated the three laſt books of the Æneid in Phaer's Virgil, which ſhewed him, Wood ſays, to be a tolerable Engliſh poet; and was the author of ſeveral other works enumerated by that antiquary, who yet does not mention, and perhaps had never ſeen, the Table Philoſophy.

From the dedication of the tract, written, as appears, by the editor, we ſeem authorized to conclude, that if, as ſome have imagined, Nowell when he was abroad eſpouſed ſome of the notions of Calvin, he did not however imbibe with them that ſourneſs of temper and gloomineſs of character, which uſually accompany thoſe dark and chearleſs dogmas. The dedicator, who had often been entertained at the Dean's table, and had experienced, in himſelf and family, many other courteſies from him, ſays of this pamphlet, which chance had brought to him, that it "contains nothing els but holeſome diet, ſauced with honeſt and pleaſant paſtimes;

and interlaced with pithy and effectual examples, tending unto the advauncement of vertue and ſuppreſſion of vice, a fit meane to delight and recreate the weak, and eſpecially the overweryed ſpirits of ſtudents." And he preſumed to offer to him this poor preſent, "partely the travaile of another man, but the teſtimony of his harty affection," the rather, becauſe he had perceived it was his cuſtom, "among other grave and weightie matters, to ſolace himſelf and others, with whom his bourd was alwaies furniſhed, with ſeemly mirth in opportunities uttered, either concerning the qualities of meats, or the uſages of forrain contries, to the great delectation of the hearers." It ſeems to have been intended as a new year's gift; for he concludes with wiſhing him "now a merry new yeer, and many" of them.

John Ludham, Vicar of Wethersfield in Eſſex, to which he was preſented in 1570 by Trinity Hall, Cambridge [a], tranſlated many theological tracts, particularly of Hyperius, a learned divine of Marpurg in Germany. One of theſe, called the Practice of Preaching or Pathway to the Pulpit, he dedicated to Ayl-

[a] Newcourt, ii. p. 654.

mer, biſhop of London, and ſubjoined to it an Oration or elogium on Hyperius by Wygandus Orthius, which he addreſſed to Nowell; partly in conſideration of the near friendſhip and familiarity between the Dean and the Biſhop, that as they were linked together in one band of amity, ſo they might be joined in one little volume; and partly "induced to do ſo by the likenes and reſemblance of the perſons, that is to ſay, of D. Andrew Hyperius and D. Alexander Nowell: the one a famous ſuperintendente in Marpurge a citie of high Almayne, the other a moſt worthy Deane of the cathedrall church of St. Paule in London: the one renowned after his death for his rare gifts of learning and godlines of life, the other yet living with no leſſe commendation, as well for his manifold knowledge in thinges divine and humayne, as alſo for his ſinguler ornaments of curteſye, affabilitie, modeſty &c. The one a mirror of his time for his notable frugalitie and ſobriety, the other a ſpectacle of our age for his bountifulnes and good hoſpitalitie." Laſtly, he ſays, he was "ſtirred or rather compelled" to this mark of reſpect, "as well by the certain report of his rare benignity towards all men, and eſpecially poor ſcholars and miniſ-

ters of the church, as alſo by infallible experience of his bountiful courteſy;" which he had taſted, if not otherwiſe, probably by converſation and intercourſe with the worthy Dean on his annual viſits to his relations, the Deanes of Dynes Hall, in the neighbourhood of Wethersfield, whence Ludham dates his dedication, May 28, 1577[b]; in which living he was ſucceeded by a perſon of both his names, on the preſentation of the crown, November 21, 1592. As for Hyperius, whoſe life has been recorded by two Engliſh pens, by Lupton in his Proteſtant Divines[c] and Fuller in his Abel Redivivus[d], his works, recommended by intrinſic merit, were probably the more acceptable in this country, as he had reſided here ſome time, viſited Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the metropolis, and gained ſo much the eſteem and affection of Charles Montjoy, ſon of Baron Montjoy,

[b] Ames, p. 1009. This alſo (now the property of Mr Heber) was in the Library of Mr. Brand, who tranſcribed the Dedication for me. Ludham alſo tranſlated The Courſe of Chriſtianity, from Hyperius, 1579. ib. 985. and a treatiſe of Baro, the learned Cambridge Profeſſor, on Providence, 1590. ib. 1177.

[c] P. 81. See alſo Granger, i. 124.

[d] P. 264. The Elements of Chriſtian Religion by Hyperius was one of the books recommended by the univerſity of Oxford in 1578. Wood's Annals, ii. 193.

that at his requeſt he lived with him four years; and then, on his return, calling upon Bucer at Straſburgh, ſettled finally at Marpurg, where he was profeſſor of divinity twenty two years, and died at the early age of fifty three, in 1564, ſolemnly proteſting the truth of his doctrine and ſincerity of his faith, and that he deſired rather to depart, than to behold the havoc and deſolation, which he foreboded would come upon the churches [e].

William Gace was another painful tranſlator of the works of foreign divines. One of theſe, "A learned and fruitful Commentary upon the Epiſtle of James the Apoſtle," by Nicholas Hemminge, profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of "Hafnie" or Copenhagen, he "thought good to publiſh the rather under the protection of" Nowell's "name, that thereby it might be the more willingly accepted, and the better liked of many, who have of a long time," he ſays, "known you to be a learned and faithful preacher of God's word, and an earneſt furtherer of all godlineſs [f]." The dedication, of ſome length,

[e] Humphrey's L. of Jewell, p. 267.

[f] London, 1577. 4to. Ames, p. 1106. 1326. In Sion College Library. Other tranſlations of Gace were Sermons of Luther,

turning chiefly on the point of faith and works, then controverted by the papiſts, and rightly taught by his author Hemminge, contains little that is hiſtorical, but has this ſingular merit, that, with the exception perhaps of a ſingle antiquated word [g], it is written in a ſtyle as pure, freſh, and flowing, as if it were the production of the days of Addiſon.

The next year he received two or three literary new year's gifts. Whitaker, having tranſlated into Latin Jewell's Vindication of his Apology for the Church of England, dedicated it to the two archbiſhops, Grindal and Sandys, to the biſhops Aylmer, Whitgift, and Freak, and to the Dean of St. Paul's. In chooſing thoſe prelates for his patrons, he was probably influenced, independently of their merit, and other ties of regard or obligation, which bound him to them, by the conſideration that they were all of them

1578 and 1581. Ames, p. 1069. Fourteen Points of Conſolation, alſo from Luther, 1578 and 1580. ib. 1070. Guide to Godlineſs, from Joh. Rivius, 1579. ib. 1326. Tanner alſo mentions a treatiſe on Folly by him, from the ſame. Biblioth. v. Gace.

g "Which falſe interpretation of theirs [of St. James by the papiſts] is in this treatiſe very learnedly and thoroughly *improved*, and the meaning of the Apoſtle truly and playnely declared." From the Latin, "improbo."

Cambridge men. He added Nowell to them, doubtleſs, not only as well known and eſteemed by them, but becauſe he was his near kinſman. And there was, beſides, one circumſtance common to them all: For "you all, he ſays, loved Jewell dearly, while he was alive; and you will not ceaſe, as long as you live, to remember him with a moſt dear remembrance, now he is dead [h]."

A work called the "Contemplation of Sinners," conſiſting of brief ſentences from the Scriptures and the fathers, was printed in 1499, under the auſpices of Fox, biſhop of Durham, afterwards of Wincheſter, the great patron of literature, and munificent founder of Corpus Chriſti college. This book coming into the hands of Richard Robinſon, who ſtyles himſelf a citizen of London, and writes from the pariſh of St. John the Evangeliſt [i], he tranſlated it into Engliſh, and dedicated it in a Latin epiſtle to Nowell, with the title of "A Dyall of dayly Contemplacion," being divided into meditations for the ſeven days of the week [k]. It appears to have been one of

[h] Strype's Ann. ii. 550. Lond. 1578. 4to. The ded. is dated, 10 Cal. Maii (Apr. 22.) Lambeth Libr. 24. 4, 8.

[i] Jan. 1. 1578.

[k] Ames, p. 742. Mr. Heber has a copy of this book from the

the editor's firſt attempts. He afterwards tranſlated Melanchthon's Prayers, was the author of the Vineyard of Virtue [l], and of various other things, original or tranſlated.

John Wharton, who ſtyles himſelf "Schoolmaſter," but whether in London or the country I have not learnt, addreſſed to Nowell an Invective or ſatire againſt uſurers, extortioners, and others, interſperſing among his lines ſome quotations in proſe, chiefly from Scripture [m]. He ſo far performs the office of a poet, that he makes fiction the vehicle of

Library of the late Mr. Brand, who obliged me with a copy of the Dedication. Other tranſlations by Robinſon are, "A moral Method of civil Policy," abridged from Fran. Patricius, 1576. 4to Ames, p. 865. Melanchthon's Prayers, 1579. 8vo. ib. 949. His Aſſertion of the true Church, 1580. dedicated to the Earl of Rutland, ib. 1119. Geſta Romanorum corrected and ſpiritualized, 1595. 8vo. ib. 1019. Solace of Sion, by Urbanus Regius, 1594. 8vo. 1049. Hemminge on 25th Pſalm, 1580. 8vo. 1071. A homily of the good and evil angel, on Matth. xviii. 10. by Urb. Regius, 1590. 8vo. ib. 1101. 1119. Part of the harmony of K. David's Harp, expoſition of 21 firſt Pſalms, by Strigelius, 1582. Ded. to Ambroſe Dudley E. of Warwick. ib. 1171. Second part, 23 Pſalms more, 1593. ib. Leland's L. of K. Arthur, 1582. 4to. ib. 1172.

[l] 1591. but licenſed 1579. 16°. Ames, p. 1128.

[m] Printed by Charlewood, 1578. ſmall 4to. black letter, in the Library of R. Heber, Eſq. Ames, p. 1094. Hen. Kirkham had licence in 1576 to print Wharton's Novels, ib. 1322. perhaps a production of the ſame author.

his cenſure, imagining himſelf to have beheld in a dream the terrible day of judgement, and to be waked at laſt by the "howling" of thoſe, who had "executed tyranny on God's elected choice." But it may be queſtioned whether he received the meed, which one of his eulogiſts promiſes him:

"Thrice Neſtor's years he and his praiſe ſhall live."

For, with exception of John Fox, the martyrologiſt, who was one of thoſe that peruſed and thought well of the performance, the author and his encomiaſts are, except to a few collectors of forgotten treaſures, alike unknown; though one of them, William Wager, beſides other productions, was author of two comedies, one of which, in the title at leaſt, had ſomething comic, "The longer thou liveſt, the more fool thou art [n]."

William Phiſton likewiſe "thought good to offer to the worthie and right worſhipfull Deane of Paules, as to a true patron of godlines and vertue," the tranſlation of a French book by Simon de Voyon, with the title of "A Teſtimonie of the true Church of God, confirmed as well by the Doctrine as Lives

[n] See Philips's Theatr. Poetar. Mr. Beloe has three ſongs from this comedy. Anecd. of Literat. 1807. vol. ii. 45.

of ſundry holy men, both Patriarkes, and Prophetes, and alſo by the Apoſtles and their true Succeſſours." The pretended novelty of the reformed faith was a popular objection in the mouths of the Roman catholics. To obviate this plea therefore, but without mentioning it, the tranſlator thought it "profitable to regiſter in perpetual memory the names of ſome godly ſetters forth of the ſaid truth," that "ſuch as had not ſufficient leiſure to read over Mr. Fox his book of Martyrs," might ſee, in a ſhort compaſs and for a ſmall price, "the antiquitie of the ſame faith and religion, that true Chriſtians now holde and imbrace[o]." The famous German divine, Illyricus, about the ſame time, in his *Catalogus teſtium Veritatis*, and biſhop Morton ſoon afterwards, in his Catholic Appeal[p], wrote more largely on the ſame ſubject.

The tranſlator of Voyon, who ſtyles himſelf "William Phiſton of London ſtudent[q]."

[o] 4to. without date, by Henry Middleton, who prints from 1570 to 1587. Ames, p. 1063. Mr. Brand had a copy of this book, and another (not quite perfect) is by his kindneſs in my poſſeſſion.

[p] Catholic Appeal for Proteſtants out of the Confeſſions of the Roman Doctours, manifeſting the Antiquity of our Religion. 1609. fol.

[q] In his tranſlation of Ochin, Ames, p. 1012. In the "Tef-

alſo collected and tranſlated out of the Italian tongue "Certaine godly and very profitable ſermons of Faith, Hope, and Charitie, by Barnardine Occhine of Sienna in Italy;" which he dedicated "to the famous and moſt reuerend Father in God, Edmond" Grindal, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1580; and the "Welſpring of Wittie Conceights," from the ſame language, was probably by the ſame hand, though in the title he is called "W. Phiſt[r]."

Another compliment of this ſort requires tranſient notice. Robert Vaux, Vicar of High Eaſter in Eſſex, having dedicated to his dioceſan, biſhop Aylmer, what appears to have been the firſt fruit of his labours, a tranſlation of Calvin's Commentary on the Galatians[s], addreſſed in the ſame year[t] his Commentary

timonie" he gives his name only, "William Phiſton." Ochin had been in England, as Latimer informs us: "There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr, and Bernard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece. I would the king would beſtow a thouſand pound on that ſort." 3 Serm. before the King.

[r] Ames, p. 1045. where he is called W. Phiſt, but in the Index Phiſton. Mr. Warton, Hiſt. Poet. iii. p. 308. mentions this work under the name of W. Phiſt.

[s] Aug. i. 1581. Ames, p. 998.

[t] 1 Nov. 1581. Ames, ib. my copy however has no year, but the month only.

on the Coloſſians "To the worſhipful and reverende fathers, maiſter Noel, Deane of Poules, M. Mullins, Archdeacon of London, maiſter D. Walker, Archdeacon of Eſſex, and maiſter Towers profeſſor of diuinity, his ſinguler good friendes and Patrons." He had received, he ſays, his living at their hands, ("that worthye man maiſter D. Watts beynge then alive, whom with reverence I remember.) And whereas want of abilitye would not ſuffer me to recompenſe otherwye your good will, yet rather then ſtill I ſhould continue vnthankful, I choſe this little commentary of that worthye father, M. Caluine, to ſupply that which els might be left vndon." He appears to have been educated in Braſen Noſe college, tranſlated ſeveral other theological works [u], and had another living in Eſſex, the rectory of Wellingale Doe [x], on the preſentation of Jeremiah Weſton, Eſquire, which was void by his death before 26 February, 1604-5.

[u] Two Common Places of Hyperius, 1581. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 84. Ames, p. 1171. Chemnitius on unwritten Traditions, 1582. Ames, 998. "A ſermon made in Latine at Oxonforde," in Edw. VI. reign, by Jewell, on 1 Pet. iv. 11. 1586. ib. p. 1000.

[x] Jan. 24. 1587. Newcourt, ii. p. 668. Vicar of H. Eaſter, on preſentation of Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Aug. 25, 1569. ib. 233.

Manchester college, founded in 1422, in honour of the blessed Virgin, by Thomas lord de la Ware, Rector of the parish, for a Warden and eight fellows, underwent in these days various changes. It was dissolved by the statute of chantries, in the first year of Edward VI. refounded by Mary, and again dissolved, or thought to be dissolved, by a statute in the first of Elizabeth. Internal mismanagement however was a greater enemy to the foundation, than an act of parliament, which did not alienate the estates, nor sequester the revenues, of the college. The Warden, Thomas Herle, sold some of the estates and granted others upon long leases and small rents, particularly one to Mr. Killigrew, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's privy Chamber, who married one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Coke, sister to Lady Burghley.

The Dean of St. Paul's having been apprized of these dealings of the Warden, by Mr. Carter, fellow of the college, he felt, as may be supposed, no small concern on account of the danger, which threatened an important institution in his native county. He therefore wrote a letter to the lord Treasurer, to whom with Secretary Walsing-

ham the cauſe of the college had been committed by the Queen, informing his Lordſhip of the leaſe to Mr. Killigrew, which had paſſed under the Great Seal, during the time that the examination of the Warden's proceedings was going on; and "moſt humbly beſeeching their Honours" to be a means for the preſervation of the college in ſome convenient ſtate, for the ſake of the good inſtruction not only of the town, but of the whole people of that country [y].

The matter was pending ſome time; but in the end, the articles alleged againſt the Warden, though he had himſelf, but two years before, made earneſt ſuit to the lord Treaſurer to redreſs the grievances and prevent the ſpoliation of the college [z], were found to be true. He was therefore ejected, upon a penſion of twenty pounds a year [a]; and a new charter was granted, dated at Gorhambury, the ſeat of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, July 28, 1578; by

[y] Oct. 28, 1576. Burghley MS. xxiii. No. 50. Strype's Ann. ii. 454.

[z] Strype, ib. p. 348.

[a] MS. Hiſtory of Mancheſter by Hollingworth, in the Library there; of whom ſee Nicholſon's Hiſt. Libr. p. 17. Gough's Topogr. i. 496. and Whitaker's Mancheſter.

which the Queen eſtabliſhed it a perpetual college, by the name of Chriſt's College in Mancheſter, to conſiſt of one Warden, four fellows, two chaplains, four laymen, ſingers, and four choriſters [b]; conſtituting, by the ſame charter, John Wolton, the firſt Warden, and John Mullins, Alexander Nowell, Oliver Carter, and Thomas Williamſon the firſt fellows. Of Mullins, who was a prebendary of St. Paul's, we have often heard before. Carter had been fellow on Mary's foundation; he is mentioned as a learned man, a ſuccinct and ſolid preacher, who wrote a book in anſwer to Briſtow's Motives, which were alſo anſwered by Dr. Fulke of Cambridge. His ſons walked in the pious ſteps of their father; and one of them, a frequent preacher, was preferred, it is ſaid, to a biſhopric in Ireland [c]. Of Williamſon, the fourth fellow, nothing further is known, but that he became D. D. in 1579.

Of the two Wardens a few words muſt be added. Herle, who is called a Corniſh man [d],

[b] Charters of the Collegiate Church, Grammar School, &c. Mancheſter, 1791.

[c] MS. Hollingworth, ut ſupra; but as I do not find him in Ware, I doubt the fact.

[d] Account of the Wardens of Chriſt's College, Mancheſter. Mancheſter, 1773. p. 8.

and probably was ſo, as the name, not common elſewhere, ſubſiſts at this day with credit in that county, appears to have been an inſtance (ſuch, it is hoped, as is not often found) of a perſon, who paſſed his earlier and middle days with integrity and repute, and forfeited his good name by his after conduct. He was Chaplain to queen Elizabeth, a grave man and an excellent preacher, ſo favourably regarded by the intelligent archbiſhop, that it was once his intention to aſſociate him with the commiſſioners for viſiting his province[e]; and he was alſo thought of by the Court for the biſhopric of Bangor[f]. The firſt conſiderable preferment which he enjoyed, ſeems to have called forth a latent ſpirit of rapacity; and, ſome years after his ejection, Herle, the old Warden of Mancheſter, is mentioned as one, of whom there was no hope of his doing good any where[g].

His ſucceſſor, Wolton, was Nowell's nephew, born at Wigan in Lancaſhire, entered of Braſen Noſe college in 1553; whence, in

[e] See a letter of the archbiſhop to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1565. Burghley MS. viii. No. 78. and Strype's Parker, p. 542.

[f] Ib. 204. Of his ejection from the wardenſhip in 1576. ib. 298. a letter by him, App. 75.

[g] Sir F. Walſingham to the biſhop of Cheſter, July 31, 1580. Deſid. Curioſ. Lib. iii. No. xviii.

1555, he fled to his uncle and the other exiles in Germany[h]. On his return, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, he was made canon refidentiary of Exeter, where he read a divinity lecture twice a week, and preached twice every Lord's day; and in the time of the great plague, he only with one more remained in the city, preaching publicly as before, and comforting privately fuch as were infected with the difeafe[i]. He compofed many theological tracts, monitory and practical, which were all of them printed and publifhed in the fpace of about twelve months, in the years 1576 and 1577[k]. In

[h] Ath. Oxon. i. 262. Annals by Gutch, ii. 123. MS. Tanner, 141. p. 199.

[i] Strype's Whitg. p. 221. where are alfo certain malicious articles of accufation againft him to the archbifhop, in 1585, and his own full vindication, App. of B. iii. No. xxii. from the originals in Burghley MS. xlv. No. 42. 43.

[k] Anatomie of the Whole Man, 1576. Ames, p. 998. Chriftian Manuell, 1576. ib. p. 1094. Of Confcience, 1576. ib. p. 936. 1133. Armour of Proofe, 1576. ib. p. 1114. Immortalitie of the Soule, 1576. ib. Fortreffe of the Faithfull, 1577. ib. p. 1094. Dodfworth (MS. 153. f. 152. in Biblioth. Bodl.) fpeaking of bifhop Wolton, "fifter's fon to Alex. Nowell," fays, "Mr. Chambers, parfon of Newton Kyme near Tadcafter, Yorkfhire, 14 Sept. 1627, told me, he did teach this bifhop Wolton's children, and did copy over four books of this bifhop's making," three of them thofe laft mentioned here; but the fourth (the fecond as he enumerates them) "David's Chain, dedicated to the Earl of

1579 he was conſecrated biſhop of Exeter; and, as he had before been eſteemed a pious, painful, and ſkilful divine, he was now a vigilant and exemplary prelate. Biſhop Godwin, who married one of his daughters [1], and ſeems to have been with him in his laſt moments, ſays, he dictated letters, not two hours before his death, on ſubjects of importance, full of the piety and prudence of a man in health and vigour; and being reminded to conſult his health, he repeated and applied the ſaying of Veſpaſian, that "a Biſhop ought to die upon his legs [m];" which in him, as before in the emperor, was literally verified. For as he was ſupported acroſs the room (his complaint being an aſthma) he ſunk, and expired almoſt before he touched the ground, in the 59th year of his age [n]. The epitaph on his monument, in the cathedral at Exeter, erected

Bedford," is one which I have not traced in Ames, nor is it mentioned by Wood.

[1] Mr. Barret, archdeacon of Exeter, married another; as appears from the Biſhop's ſpirited vindication of himſelf above referred to, in which ſeveral circumſtances reſpecting himſelf and his family are incidentally mentioned. Strype's Whitg. App. p. 90—92.

[m] Godwin de Præſul. ed. Richardſon, p. 418. "Imperatorem ait ſtantem mori oportere." Sueton. in Veſpaſ. c. 24.

[n] Nondum ſexagenarius, ob. 13 Mar. 1593. Godw.

by the affection of his eldeſt ſon, is given below, as it ſeems never to have been accurately exhibited in print °.

But we muſt return to the new charter of Mancheſter college, which conſtituted Wolton the firſt Warden. This royal patent ſecured the eſtates to their proper uſe; but provided, at the ſame time, that a leaſe, granted by the late Warden and fellows to the Queen in 1575, ſhould be good and valid; and alſo inſured to the college a reſerved rent, iſſuing out of the eſtate, as expreſſed in letters patent of the following year, which were granted, moſt probably, to the court favourite, Mr. Killigrew, before mentioned. It was ordered in the charter, partly no doubt in compliment to Nowell, who was conſulted with regard to almoſt every eccleſiaſtical and literary foundation in his time, that the Deans of St. Paul's and Weſtminſter, and the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter, for the time being, or any two of them, ſhould have power to make

° "Hic jacet"—haud jacet hic, tumulo quem credis ineſſe,
Terra nequit tantum contumulare virum.
Ingenium, genium, mores, pietatis honores,
Eloquiumque pium buſta peruſta tegent?
Falleris; Ultonus tonus eſt, ſic ſpiritus. "Unde
Hoc noſti?" Tonus eſt cœlicus orbe tonans.

ſuch ſtatutes and regulations, as ſhould ſeem neceſſary, provided they were not repugnant to the patent of foundation.

It is memorable, that, in little more than half a century from the grant of this charter, the revenues of the college were again withholden or miſapplied, and the church itſelf in danger of falling, and that chiefly, as before, by default of the Warden, a Scotchman of the name of Murray [p], preſented by James I.; ſo that upon inquiry made by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Keepers of the Great and Privy Seal, commiſſioners for the crown, a new patent was iſſued by Charles I. in 1635; under which the foundation has flouriſhed to the preſent time, when the rapid increaſe of this great commercial town is worthy of notice. The inhabitants, who were ſtated in 1578 to amount to the number of 10,000, were at leaſt double that number in 1635 [q]; and have recently been aſcertained to be upwards of eighty four thouſand [r].

[p] The Account of the Wardens, ut ſupra, calls him Richard Murray, D.D. Rector of Stopford [Cheſhire] and Dean of St. Burien's in Cornwall.

[q] Charters, ut ſupra.

[r] The return to Parliament in 1801 was 39,110 males, 44,910 females; total 84,020.

The metropolis this ſummer (1578) was alarmed by the appearance of that frequent ſcourge of the nation, the plague. Aylmer, biſhop of London, therefore, anxious at once for the bodily health and ſpiritual welfare of his charge, convened the London clergy, the Dean of St. Paul's aſſiſting; and propoſed to them, that a certain number ſhould be choſen for the purpoſe of viſiting the ſick, that the reſt might be ſpared. But the motion did not meet with the concurrence of the clergy; who, highly to the honour of their zeal and humanity, eſteemed it their duty not to deſert their own proper cure, in the midſt of danger and of death[s]; and, like "Marſeilles' good biſhop" at a later period, they eſcaped infection; and, as winter came on, the malady ſubſided.

The vigilant biſhop had ſeveral other conſultations with his clergy, about this time; particularly one in September, 1579, when a virulent pamphlet called the Gaping Gulph, by Stubbs, a rigid puritan of Lincoln's Inn, abuſing the Queen on account of the projected match with the Duke of Anjou, then

[s] Strype's Aylmer, p. 44. See alſo of this plague, Annals, ii. 502.

at court, caufed a great ferment in London and other parts. The advice which the bifhop gave, not to meddle with ftate affairs, but to ftudy peace and quietnefs, was fure to meet the entire approbation of the meek and pacific Nowell, who affifted on the occafion[t]. As for the author of the libel, he was brought to trial, and fentenced to lofe his right hand; which was no fooner chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet, in the public ftreet in Weftminfter, than, as Camden, who was prefent, relates[u], he took off his hat with his left hand, and cried, "God fave the Queen."

Miftaken zeal is in general one of the moft hopelefs maladies of the mind; but Stubbs, whofe learning and abilities were refpectable

[t] Strype's Aylmer, p. 64.

[u] Annals, i. 326. Howell's Letters, vol. iv. Let. xii. In Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 188. is his fpeech when his hand was cut off, Nov. 3, 1579. and p. 202—210. feveral letters written by him afterwards, during his impriſonment, to the Queen, the Privy Council, &c. A Proclamation was iſſued, chiefly in conſequence of Stubbs's publication, dated at Giddy Hall in Eſſex, Sept. 27, 21 Eliz. Strype's Ann. ii. 562—565. See alſo Strype's Parker, p. 489. and correct from thence Ath. Oxon. i. 283. where it is ſaid, Stubbs married Cartwright's ſiſter, whereas the fact was, that Cartwright married Stubbs's ſiſter, as Camden alſo informs us. ib. p. 325.

(having been educated in Bennet college, Cambridge) was ſo fortunate, or ſo penitent for this his ſingle fault, that he was employed by the lord Treaſurer, a few years afterwards, to anſwer cardinal Allen's Defence of the Engliſh Catholics; and he performed the taſk ſo well, and ſo fully refuted what the papiſts boaſted of as unanſwerable, that Dr. Hammond and Dr. Byng, two learned civilians, having been deſired by the lord Treaſurer to peruſe the work, and acquaint him with their judgement of it, gave for anſwer, that "the author's travel had ſo well throughout acquitted itſelf, that it little needed any cenſure, much leſs theirs; and that it was more than time, in their opinion, the work were abroad, for the better ſtaying of certain weak ones," on the one ſide, "and for the repreſſing of ſome inſolent vaunts," on the other [x].

The cardinal's book, thus anſwered by Stubbs, was aimed againſt "The Execution of Juſtice," a very able and convincing work, ſaid to be from the pen of Burghley himſelf,

[x] Strype's Annals, ii. 610. The letter itſelf, July 11, 1587, is in the Burghley collection, vol. liv. No. 52. where alſo, No. 57. is Stubbs's own letter to the Treaſurer, accompanying his Anſwer to Allen; whoſe "Defence" was printed about 1584. Ames, p. 1664. Strype's Ann. iii. 481.

which went through two editions in 1583, and was tranſlated into Latin and other languages, to juſtify the proceedings of the Engliſh government in the opinion of foreign courts [y]. Several letters of Stubbs, addreſſed to the lord Treaſurer and his ſecretary Hickes, are preſerved in the Burghley papers; and moſt of them having been written with his left hand, after the loſs of his right, he uſually, in alluſion to that circumſtance, ſigns himſelf Scæva [z]. Whether his Anſwer to Allen was ever publiſhed, I have not diſcovered: he tranſlated Beza's Meditations on eight of the Pſalms [a], from the French, which he dedicated to Lady Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, that it might remain in

[y] Ames, p. 1082. 1073. Ath. Oxon. i. 271. And Stillingfleet's Preface to his republication of it in 1675, which was from the firſt edition, 17 Dec. 1583. "The ſecond edition, in Jan. 1583–4, had ſome ſmall alterations of things miſtaken or omitted in the former edition." John Loveday, Eſq. of Caverſham, deceaſed. It is printed alſo in Tracts againſt Popery.

[z] To Mr. Hickes from Bennet college, 1569. vol. xii. No. 53. another, 1570. ib. No. 98. From the Tower, 1580. xxxi. No. 19. From France (1584) xliii. No. 24. For Mr. Garrard to be biſhop of Cheſter, 1596. lxxxii. No. 99. And ſee laſt note but one.

[a] The firſt Pſalm and the ſeven penitential Pſalms. The dedication is dated "From Thelueton [in Norfolk] 31 May, 1582. John Stubbe Sceua." In the Library at Arbury.

the ſame houſe, paſſing from the father's wife to the ſon's wife; as Beza had dedicated the original to the Lord Keeper's widow, one of his Latin correſpondents, whoſe father, Sir Anthony Coke, he had known at Geneva, and admired for his Chriſtian courage in the troubles of Mary's days.

Sir John Harrington, in his Diſcourſe on Play, among other arguments againſt it, obſerves, "It is an unprofitable trade. I have herd of many ritch marchants and goldſmiths in Cheap; and *Who hath not hard of the Hoſyer*, whome *Deane Nowell*, that *good old father, was adminiſtrator unto?*—but never of a rich gameſter [b]." It were to be wiſhed, the worthy knight had told us a little more of this Hoſier, ſo opulent and famous in his time, and particularly whether Nowell, in right of himſelf or of his wife, adminiſtered to his effects, as neareſt of kin; or whether, as I rather ſuppoſe, he was appointed by will to be the diſpenſer of his charity;—a mark of reſpect for his virtues, which was paid to him in other inſtances.

Dame Mary Rowe, late wife of Sir Tho-

[b] Nugæ Antiq. vol. ii. p. 33.

mas Rowe, alderman and ſometime lord Mayor of London, by her will in 1579, bequeathed "to pore ſcholars in the Univerſities ſtudying divinity, ten pounds, after the diſcretion of Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Pauls;" and, conſtituting him overſeer of her will, ſhe ſays, "whom I moſt heartily praie for the love that he beareth to the truth, that he wolde earneſtlye travel withe all my ſonnes and daughters, as neede ſhall requier, that they keepe brotherlie love amonge themſelves, that they never flyde backe from the profeſſion of the goſpell, that theye feare God and his judgments, that theye ſtudye to lyve honeſtlie and godlye durynge their lyves, that after this lief, theye maye comme to the kingedome of heaven." She leaves ten ſhillings in money and thirty ſhillings for a ring to "ſome godly learned man," who ſhould "make a ſermon at her burial;" to her "cozin Bullingham, late wife to Mr. Bullingham, biſhop of Worceſter, deceaſed, a ring of gold of forty ſhillings;" five pounds for a ring to Nowell, "and five pounds (over and above the ten pounds before given) to be diſtributed to ſuch ſcholars in the univerſities, as are, or in his judgment

are like to prove, godlye, learned, and painfull preachers of the goſpell [c]."

On wedneſday in Eaſter week, April 6, 1580, about ſix o'clock in the evening, happened one of the moſt tremendous earthquakes, that is ever known to have befallen this favoured iſland. The ſhock was felt not only in moſt parts of England, but in France and in Flanders, as far as Cologn; and though, where the concuſſion was the greateſt, as in London and in Kent, leſs miſchief was done than might have been apprehended (for we only hear of its throwing down part of Saltwood caſtle in Kent, and ſome ſtones from St. Paul's and the Temple church, and Chriſt's hoſpital, where a boy and a girl were killed, and were the only lives loſt;) yet the conſternation, which it occaſioned, was very great; and the more ſo, as it was thought not to proceed from natural cauſes, but to be the immediate interpoſition of Heaven, as it was unaccompanied with a previous dimneſs of the ſun, ſtillneſs of the air, motion of the waters, and other cuſtomary precurſors of ſuch cala-

[c] Antiquar. Repert. 1779. vol. iii. p. 231. Her huſband's will, dated 2 May, 1569. ib. p. 225. He was lord Mayor, 1568.

mities [d]. A homily was written on the occaſion, and by her Majeſty's command forms of prayer were compoſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of London, to be uſed in their dioceſes [c]. Many private perſons alſo publiſhed reports of the earthquake and reflections upon it, as well in verſe as in proſe; and, in particular, Churchyard the poet "ſet forth in verſe and in proſe" a book of the earthquake, addreſſed "to the good Deane of Paules," which his fertile, if not very vigorous, Muſe produced in two days. But it being one of the moſt rare among the very ſcarce tracts of this writer, we can only lay before our reader the title of it, as no incurious ſpecimen of the alliteration of the times, when "grief and miſery could be joined with verſe [f]." It is called "A warning to the wife, a feare to the fond, a bridle to

[d] Strype's Annals, ii. 668. 672. Wood's Annals, ii. 198. Stow's Chron. p. 687.

[c] The order of Prayer, Report &c. 1580. 4to. Ames, p. 1080. "God hath ſhaken the earth, and ſent us blaſing ſtars to warn us." Dr. Billet, in his Spital Sermon, Eaſter monday, 1582. MS. penes me. Letter to Lord Burghley of a Form of Prayer for a public Faſt on the occaſion, by Aylmer biſhop of London, Apr. 22. 1580. Burghley MS. xxx. No. 49. Strype's Aylmer, p. 78—80. Brit. Topogr. ii. 691.

[f] Cowley, on the death of Mr. Hervey.

the lewde, and a glaſſe to the good. Written of the late earthquake, for the glory of God, and benefit of men, that warely walke, and wiſely can iudge[g]."

In this ſummer, June 22, 1580, a licence of non-reſidence was granted to Nowell by the Crown; but the patent is couched in ſuch terms, as ſhew the intention of the Sovereign was rather to vary and extend, than to intermit or limit, the ſphere of his utility and labours. The inſtrument, addreſſed to him as one of her Majeſty's Chaplains, ſtates, that whereas the revenues of Braſen Noſe college and the number of ſcholars there had been augmented, and the ſchool of Middleton in Lancaſhire founded, by her Highneſs; whence

[g] Harl. Catal. No. 222. p. 891. Ames, p. 1806, 1807. Other publications on the Earthquake were "A Diſcourſe" on it by Arthur Golding (who tranſlated Ovid's Metamorphoſis and other things) 8vo. Ames, p. 986. A pithie Diſcourſe by Twyne, already mentioned, p. 241. Ames, p. 1043. in the Library of R. Gough, Eſquire. "A fatherly Admonycion—by reaſon of a mooſt fearfull Earthquake." Ames, p. 1322. "Sorrowful Song" upon, by J. Carpenter, ib. p. 1337. where for 1586 read 1580. Three proper and wittie familiar Letters—betweine two Univerſitie men, touching the Earthquake—and our Engliſh refourmed verſifying. By Gabr. Harvey, in Brit. Muſ. Beloe's Anecd. of Literat. 1807. vol. ii. p. 203.

greater advantage might ariſe, if the conduct and ſtudies of the preceptors and their ſcholars were looked into and examined; ſhe had therefore thought good to delegate him, as a fit perſon for carrying into effect theſe her royal wiſhes, by viſiting the ſaid ſcholars of Braſen Noſe and the ſchool at Middleton; having long, by ſure proof, known his experience and ſkill in buſineſs, as well as earneſt deſire and conſtant ſolicitude for the training up of youth in learning and virtue. She moreover particularly commits to him her authority to inquire into the ſtate of religion in thoſe places; and ſignifies her royal will and pleaſure, that he ſhould inſtruct and confirm her ſubjects in their duty to God and obedience to their Sovereign, in charity towards all and innocency of life, by preaching every ſunday and holiday, wherever he ſhould be; and directs all magiſtrates, bailiffs, and others to be aſſiſting to him. Such are the conditions, on which he is allowed to be abſent three months and fourteen days, annually, from the Deanery of St. Paul's and the Rectory of Hadham, the duties of thoſe places in the mean time being not neglected; and the injunction of preaching is repeated,

as a point of prime conſequence, which nothing but ſickneſs ſhould prevent or hinder [h].

His diligence and ſucceſs in reducing papiſts to conformity, in his native county of Lancaſhire, had been favourably reported to the Crown twelve years before [i]; and he was, no doubt, equally zealous and probably not leſs ſucceſsful, when he proceeded on his tour under this notable licence of non-reſidence. His talents and virtues rendered him a fit object of papal hoſtility and hatred; and therefore his works were proſcribed in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum [k]; and his name, together with that of Fox, Fleetwood the Recorder, and others, was inſerted at Rome in a "bede-roll," or liſt of perſons, that were to be diſpatched, and the particular mode of their death, as by burning or hanging, pointed out [l], when they ſhould accom-

[h] T. Reg. ap. Weſtm. Rolls, Pat. 22 Eliz. p. 1.

[i] See above, p. 133.

[k] Ed. Romæ, 1758. penes me. The frontiſpiece to this book is a very neat engraving of the burning of the books of them which uſed curious arts, Acts xix. 19. which is the motto to the work; and above, two flying cherubs, ſupporting a ſhield (paly of 6, Or and Gules) the arms I ſuppoſe of Benedict XIV. by whoſe command the book was reviſed and publiſhed; and a cherub's head, crowned with the papal tiara, for a creſt.

[l] Strype's Annals, ii. 643.

pliſh their deſign of invading and over-running England; of which they now conceived great hopes, as well from the activity of their abettors, on this ſide of the water, as from the republication of the Bull againſt the Queen, and the combination of the pope and Spaniard againſt her [m].

To forward theſe hopes Sanders addreſſed a Letter to the Roman catholics in Ireland, exciting them to rebellion [n]; and Campion and Parſons landed in England, where, traveling in diſguiſe, they were entertained by their friends, in different parts, till, after a few months, Campion was apprehended, and Parſons fled.

Campion, though a mighty boaſter, had yet the reputation of being a poliſhed ſcholar; and as his book of Ten Reaſons was now induſtriouſly circulated, it was thought that it ſhould be anſwered, and Nowell among others was named for the purpoſe [o]; but he did not undertake it, knowing perhaps that it was already in the hands of his nephew Whitaker, by whom it was fully and learnedly anſwered. In the mean time, as Campion in

[m] Strype, ibid. p. 631—634.

[n] Strype's Parker, p. 378. and Append. No. lxxvii.

[o] Strype's Aylmer, p. 50.

his book had boldly challenged all Proteſtants to a diſputation, it was determined, that a diſputation or conference ſhould be held with him in the Tower.

The Dean of St. Paul's and May, Dean of Windſor, being accordingly ſent to have conference with him and his fellows in the chapel of the Tower, on the laſt day of Auguſt, 1581, they opened the buſineſs with obſerving, that it was not their meaning to take any advantage againſt him by the ſuddenneſs of their coming; and therefore they intended to deal with him in no other matters, than ſuch as were contained in his own book, by him ſo much ſtudied, and ſo lately publiſhed; and as he had therein made ſo large a challenge, he could not think himſelf to be taken unprovided [p].

After this and a few other introductory queſtions and remarks, they came at once to the matter of his book; and aſked him firſt of all, how he could charge us with rejecting the Epiſtle of St. James, which, whether Luther admitted it or not, we had always

[p] A true Report of the Diſputation or rather priuate Conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion Jeſuite &c. London, 1583. 4to. penes me, Signat. C. i.

received [q]. But Luther's preface to St. James, which he had alleged, being produced, when he found, that, inſtead of rejecting, Luther allowed and commended the Epiſtle, he had no other evaſion, but to ſay, it was not the true edition. To which it was replied, that it was ſo in all the editions [r].

They dwelt the rather on this and other miſquotations and falſities in his book, being of opinion, that, if any thing at all, this "laying open before his face of his continual untruths" (as they were ſhortly after ſet out in the confutation of his book) "might reclaim him." And he was accordingly obſerved to be much more gentle and mild in his behaviour and ſpeech in the afternoon's conference; when, agreeably to his repeated deſire of coming to ſome point of doctrine, they entered upon the ſubject of juſtification, both becauſe it was the firſt mentioned in his book, and was likewiſe a matter of chief controverſy.

[q] Ibid. Signat. C. ii.

[r] It has lately been obſerved, that Luther in his German preface to his firſt edition of the Bible, 1525, intimated that the Epiſtle of St. James ought to be ſtruck out of the canon; but the paſſage was omitted in 1526, and all ſubſequent editions. Brit. Crit. vol. xxvii. p. 422.

On this head, when, among other things, a ſaying of Aquinas was alleged, that "God juſtifies effectively, faith apprehenſively (or, as Sherwin ſaid it was, inſtrumentally) and works declaratively," Campion ſaid, he could ſubſcribe to this ſaying of St. Thomas. And we, ſaid the two Deans, "would do the like; for that is the very true doctrine that we teach." The ſame they inferred alſo from the text of St. Paul, Eph. ii. 8. "The cauſe of our juſtification is the grace of God, the inſtrument whereby we receive it is faith, the falſe cauſe alleged by you is here excluded, that is, our works. And ſo we conclude, that we mean not by faith only, to exclude the *doing*, but the *meriting*, of good works." Both parties, in fine, confeſſed themſelves defective; and therefore "what remedy?" "The remedy, quoth Maſter Campion, is the mercy of God in Chriſt Jeſus." "That is, quoth the other, what I believe. And therefore here, as in ſome good hope of our agreement in this point of juſtification by faith only, without any merit of works, let us make an end."

From this abſtract of what was ſaid on this memorable occaſion, two things, I think, appear evident: firſt, that if theſe two di-

vines, Nowell and May, underſtood the doctrine of our church, in its final reformation, of which they both were eminent inſtruments and ornaments, then we have not, as is often with ſo much confidence aſſerted, ſwerved in this point from the doctrine of our reformers; and, ſecondly, that their doctrine is in truth ſo conſonant to the Scriptures and ſober ſenſe, that no candid Roman catholic, nor, one would imagine, Calviniſt, can withhold his aſſent from it, if he does but allow, that, while mercy through Chriſt is freely offered to ſinners, it is neceſſary on our part to believe and obey.

Notes of this conference were immediately committed to writing by the parties themſelves, "out of their freſh memory of all events," but without any deſign of publiſhing them, till the favourers of Campion, in various pamphlets, printed and manuſcript, which were induſtriouſly diſperſed, boaſted that the Proteſtants in this diſpute "were quite confounded," and that the "Catholics did get the goal." Hereupon they were "partly of themſelves inclined, and by others importuned, and by ſome in great authority almoſt enforced, to ſet down the true report;" which they accordingly did, ſubſcribing it

with their own names, and ſubjoining "a brief Recital of certain untruths ſcattered in the pamphlets and libels of the Papiſts," concerning the conference. And they declare now in print, what before "as occaſion ſerved they had not diſſembled, that they found not Campion ſuch a man, as by his challenge and book, and other men's reports of him, they had looked for;" but "verily thought the book publiſhed in his name was none of his writing, much leſs penned by him as he was in his journey, as he reported himſelf; but that it was elaborate before, by the common and long ſtudy of all the beſt learned Jeſuits, to ſerve at all opportunities [s]."

There were conferences again with Campion, on three other days, about a month afterwards; and, as before, upon queſtions handled in his own book. On two of theſe days the diſputants were Dr. Fulke, Maſter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, author of ſeveral tracts againſt popery, and Dr. Goad, Provoſt of King's college; and on the laſt day Dr. Walker, archdeacon of Eſſex, and

[s] True Report, ut ſupra, Signat. A. ii. G. i. b.

Mr. William Charke[t]. Theſe conferences were collected, from the notes of ſeveral who wrote there, by John Field; and having been peruſed by the learned men themſelves, were publiſhed with the other. But it is not neceſſary to notice them, further than to ſay, that theſe later diſputants, particularly Fulke and Goad, being puritanically inclined and leaning to Calvin's notions, afforded Campion, on one or two points, an advantage, which his cauſe did not give him over the real principles of the Engliſh church.

Campion had come into England the preceding year, with a faculty from the reigning pope, explaining the famous bull of Pius V. (who has ſince been canonized as a Saint by the church of Rome!) agreeably to the requeſt of himſelf and Parſons, to this effect: that the ſaid bull, depriving Elizabeth of her

[t] Mr. Charke, (the ſame perſon I believe) late fellow of Peter Houſe, is mentioned in 1572 as chaplain to Lord Cheynie, and a puritan. Strype's Parker, p. 389. See alſo L. of Aylmer, p. 55. and L. of Whitg. p. 253. Nowell in 1598 mentions "Mr. Charke" with ſeveral others, "men both of great learninge and godlyneſs." Biogr. Brit. art. Nowell. Wood mentions him as a writer againſt Campion, &c. Ath. Oxon. i. 358. "A noted puritan," living in 1600. ib. 308. Archdeacon Walker has occurred before in theſe papers.

crown, and abſolving her ſubjects from their allegiance, ſhould always be in force againſt her and the heretics; but ſhould not bind the catholics, as matters now ſtood, but only hereafter, when it could publicly be put into execution [u]. He was tried and executed for treaſon in December, 1581; and Henry Walpoole, a brother Jeſuit (who was alſo hanged for treaſon ſome years afterwards) wrote his martyrdom in Engliſh verſe, as Paul Bombin and ſeveral others did in proſe [x].

In 1582 Nowell preached the Eaſter monday Spital ſermon, a circumſtance which eſcaped the reſearches of Strype, who commonly mentions the Spital ſermons, as well as thoſe at the croſs; but the ſermon itſelf in a contemporary hand, perhaps the only one of Nowell's remaining, is in my poſſeſſion, together with five others preached in the ſame year, by the favour of Mr. Brand, the late learned Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, whoſe delight it was to gather rare tracts and manuſcripts, and preſent them

[u] See Exec. of Juſtice in Engl. 1675 from the ed. of 1583. p. 19. A remarkable portrait of Father Parſons, engraved from the original, once the property of the celebrated Michael Maittaire, may be ſeen in Gent. Mag. 1794. p. 409.

[x] Ath. Oxon. i. 208. 276. 298.

to his friends. The Dean's ſermon, the firſt in the volume, though not preached firſt, is on Epheſians ii. 8, 9, 10. "For by grace are ye ſaved," &c. which he "thought convenient to divide into three parts; the firſt whereof is the matter, and that is of ſalvation; the ſecond is the means, whereby we are ſaved; and that is alſo divided into two parts, the firſt wherof is grace, the principal cauſe of our ſalvation; the ſecond, faith, the inſtrument whereby (being God his gift and liberality mercifully beſtowed on us) we apprehend this grace, the principal cauſe of our ſalvation. The third and laſt part is the caution or adverſity, which the ſchoolmen call antitheſis, that namely, by the which we are not ſaved, which is neither by ourſelves, nor by our works."

He choſe this Scripture, he ſays, not to "maintain an old grudge and quarrel, but to quit and clear ourſelves from the opprobrious ſlanders, wherewith Stapleton hath ſlandered us in his book, ſaying, that we teach that good works are pernicious, and not availing to ſalvation; as alſo to defend my God againſt vile duſt and aſhes, and the mercies of the Lord againſt man his preſuming merits."

He had "not long ago entreated of the

like Scripture, though not the very ſame altogether." But "foraſmuch as the holy Apoſtle St. Paul doth begin and end every one of his epiſtles with the word of Grace, uſing it for the moſt part both for a ſalutation, and alſo for a valediction, do not you think it much, if I in two months twice entreat of it; of the which albeit I preached every day throughout the week, yet could I not enough talk of it; eſpecially by which only both churches are preſerved, common wealths governed, kingdoms maintained, titles of the ſame retained, and ſpecially the title of this realm: Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queen."

This ſpecimen of the preacher's manner may ſuffice, from a ſermon, in which while he ſpeaks, as the ſubject and the points then in controverſy led him, of our regeneration in baptiſm, of the freedom of divine grace, and our election and calling in Chriſt, he is careful to ſhew, that each of theſe inſtances of divine mercy requires, that "we ſhould live in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life." The other preachers were Mr. Stone[y] at the croſs on Good Friday, Dr. Goad

[y] Thomas Stone of Chriſt Church was one of the Proctors of the Univerſity of Oxford in 1580, and afterwards parſon of

and Dr. Billett, Spital ſermons, Mr. Donehill at the croſs, after his rehearſal of the four Eaſter ſermons; and Mr. Grant, the learned maſter of Weſtminſter School, in the Abbey, April 30, but on what particular occaſion does not appear.

The free ſtates of Switzerland having been recently invaded, and being again threatened, by the Duke of Savoy, at the inſtigation of the pope, the Queen and her privy Council, in grateful remembrance of the protection, which the Engliſh exiles had experienced there in the days of queen Mary, reſolved that a contribution ſhould be ſent to them, in their preſent diſtreſs [z]; in which the aid and advice of the Dean of St. Paul's was particularly deſired [a]. The contribution, conducted chiefly through the biſhops and clergy, appears to have been general, throughout the kingdom; and the ſum raiſed, no doubt, was ample. The Dean gave twenty marks [b].

Warkton in Northamptonſhire. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 120. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. ix. p. 207. Whether he was the preacher, I know not; nor have elſewhere met with Billett or Donehill. The other two are well known.

[z] Peck's Deſid. Curioſ. L. iv. No. xv. xxii.

[a] L. of Grindal, p. 279.

[b] L. of Grindal, p. 283. In Strype's Ann. iii. p. 161. is an account of various ſums ſent to Geneva on this occaſion, from a

The good archbiſhop Grindal, who died this year, among other legacies, marks of eſteem and affection, gave by will to his "faithful friend Mr. Nowel, Dean of Powls, his ambling gelding, called Gray Oliphant;" and "to Mr. Redman, archdeacon of Canterbury, his white Hobbie, called York[c]." Princes have ſometimes made ſimilar bequeſts; for Ethelſtan Etheling, ſon of king Ethelred, by his will gives to his father "thoſe white horſes, which Liefwine me gave[d]."

John Towneley, Eſquire, Nowell's uterine brother, having been committed to the new Fleet at Mancheſter, for not conforming himſelf in matters of religion, the Dean petitioned the privy Council in his behalf, that he might be permitted to come up to London, as he had fallen into ſome diſeaſe, and was deſirous to be cured, where beſt advice and help might be had. The Council therefore wrote to the Earl of Derby and the biſhop of

paper in the Lord Treaſurer's own hand. A letter in French from Geneva to his Lordſhip, to further their petition to the Queen for a loan, Oct. 7, 1582. in Burghley MS. xxxv. No. 64.

[c] Strype's Grindal, App. p. 104. 107.

[d] Somner on Gavelkind, App, p. 200. The will is dated A. D. 1015.

Cheſter, eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners for thoſe parts, that he ſhould be ſent up, in company with ſome truſty perſon by them appointed[e]. But there is reaſon to doubt whether the order was obeyed, not only becauſe the biſhop imagined the plea of ſickneſs to be groundleſs, but becauſe a ſecond letter from the Council, ſome three months afterwards, was addreſſed to the ſaid Commiſſioners, reſpecting Mr. Towneley, that as the ſtatute allowed this alternative, that recuſants ſhould either conform or pay, and Mr. Towneley anſwered the penalty, they ſaw no reaſon that he ſhould "endure a double puniſhment[f] for one offence."

The annexed portrait of Mr. Towneley, progenitor of Charles Towneley, Eſquire, the late celebrated collector of the Towneley

[e] Peck, Deſid. Curioſ. L. iv. No. xxxix. "Whereas owre lovinge frend and deane of Powles hath bene an earneſt ſutor unto us that his brother Towneley" &c. 22 March, 1583. He had before petitioned for liberty on account of ſuits for land, and a marriage in Lincolnſhire for his daughter; which, if the allegations were true, the Privy Council ordered him to be allowed, for a reaſonable time, and the rather, as (his religion excepted) he carried himſelf dutifully and quietly. Feb. 22, 1582. ib. No. xviii.

[f] Peck, ut ſupra, L. iv. No. xlvii. July 5, 1584. The letter equally reſpects Mr. Towneley and Sir John Southworth, mentioned above, p. 149.

Muſeum, is copied, by favour of Peregrine Towneley, Eſquire, the preſent proprietor of Towneley, from a very curious family painting in his poſſeſſion, on board, very perfect, containing ſixteen figures, all kneeling, the father with ſeven ſons in order of primogeniture, behind him; the mother with as many daughters, in the ſame ſituation. Between the parents is a double deſk, and a crucifix above. On a book upon the deſk, before the father (as in the engraving) are the words "FIAT VOLUNTAS TUA;" before the mother, "UT IN CŒLO ITA IN TERRIS." Above the crucifix, "VIRTUTE DECET, NON SANGUINE NITI." From the back of the youngeſt ſon and daughter ſpring two vines, emblems of fruitfulneſs, which mantle over the heads of the figures; that on the right laden with black grapes; that on the left with white. From the branches on the right depend the ſhields of the Towneleys, with their various impalements; from thoſe on the left the ſhields of the Wimbiſhes, until the two ſtems unite in Sir Richard Towneley and Frances Wimbiſh, and terminate in John Towneley and Mary Towneley (daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Richard) who, in the language of the follow-

ing inſcription [s], "united and preſerved the family." Mr. Towneley was interred in the family chapel, on the north ſide of the choir of Burneley church, on the firſt of March, 1607; probably, therefore, at the advanced age of fourſcore. The interchange of kind offices, and frequent inſtances of truſt repoſed in him by the Nowells, may be regarded as ſo many inſtances of fraternal affection and unſuſpected integrity; while the attitude and accompaniments, with which he choſe to be handed down to poſterity, in this family group, ſhew

"How firm his ſacred, though miſtaken zeal."

[s] Hic Johannes et Maria per 44 annos matrimonio juncti ſeriem Towneleiam conjunxerunt et conſervaverunt, qui quaſi 14 novellas arborum, 7 filios et 7 filias procreaverunt, Ricardum, Johannem, Carolum, Chriſtopherum, Carolum, Thomam et Nicholaum—Johannam, Franciſcam, Mariam, Annam, Elizabetham, Margaretam et Franciſcam—Solus Ricardus ex Johanna Aſheton 5 filios ſuſcepit: duo ſuperſtites, Ricardus et Carolus [1]: Johannes maximus natu, Thomas, et Johannes minimus natu mortui. Ex filiabus ſola Anna ſuperſtes, quae per Gulielmum Widleton gaudet Gulielmo, Johannes vero mortuus. Johannes eſt 73 an^m. Maria 59, et adhuc cum Ricardo et 4 filiis nondum uxoratis et Anna [2] apud Towneley vivunt. A. D. 1601.

[1] Afterwards ſlain at Marſton Moor.

[2] I ſuppoſe Anne Midleton, who was probably a widow, and had returned to her parents.



JOHN TOWNELEY, of TOWNELEY ESQ.

UTERINE BROTHER OF Dr ALEXANDER NOWELL,

died AD. 1607 Æt. 79.

Publishd 12th Febr. 1809. by Mess.rs Rivington.

SECTION X.

AMONG the rare books of the reign of queen Elizabeth are the Emblems of Geffrey Whitney, which were dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter at London, in November, 1585, but printed in 1586, in the houſe of Chriſtopher Plantin[h] at Leyden; where, Wood ſays, the author then lived in great eſteem among his countrymen for his ingenuity[i]. He was ſon of Geffrey Whitney, born at Nantwich in Cheſhire, and, as himſelf tells us, "ſpent his prime" at Audlem ſchool[k] in that neighbourhood; afterwards paſſed ſome time in Oxford, but more in another univerſity, which is not named. His Emblems, generally one or more ſtanzas of ſix lines (a quatrain followed by a couplet) have a device or wooden

[h] See an Epigram to him, p. 164.

[i] Ath. Oxon. i. 230.

[k] Emblems, &c. 1586. 4to. p. 172. See Ames, p. 1675. There is a copy of Whitney's Emblems in the Library at Arbury: Mr. Heber has another, and a third is in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Cheſter.

cut prefixed, with an appropriate motto; and being addreſſed, either to his own kinſmen and friends, or to ſome eminent characters of the times, they furniſh notices of perſons, places, and things not elſewhere eaſily to be met with. If he attained among his contemporaries "the title of a poet," it was perhaps, as Sir Philip Sidney, to whom ſome of his Emblems are addreſſed [l], ſays of himſelf, "by I know not what miſchance [m];" but he was at leaſt a ſonorous verſifier, at a time when that talent was not common. He has two Emblems to the Dean of St. Paul's, "eminent for his learning and example." The firſt, which he ſtyles "The dead man's riches [n]," illuſtrates the poſition, that nothing but a winding ſheet attends us to the grave, by the example of Saladin, who charged his attendants, whenever he ſhould die, to elevate his ſhirt upon a ſpear, and proclaim with ſound of trumpet, "Great Saladin is dead;

"And this is all he bare with him away."

[l] See Emblems, p. 38. 109. 196.

[m] Defence of Poeſie.

[n] Ad Rev. virum Dn. Alexandrum Nowell Paulinæ eccleſiæ Londini Decanum, doctrina et exemplo clarum. p. 86.

In this there is nothing, which might not be ſaid to any man. The other, a ſingle ſtanza, of the pelican feeding her young from her own breaſt (the well-known device of the Founder of Corpus Chriſti college, Oxford) is more perſonal and appropriate; exhorting the good Dean, whoſe "zeal was great and learning profound," that as he had already with his tongue, ſo now

"With pen proceed to do your country good[o]."

His pen he did employ in the ſervice of his country, not indeed by publiſhing, at this time, any learned work, but by preventing an irregularity; which, if it had been ſuffered to

[o] P. 87. The motto is, "Quod in te eſt prome." The following notices of his relatives occur: To his "Brother Mr. Br. Whitney," p. 88. "Ad affinem ſuum R. E. medicum inſignem," 90. "Ad agnatum ſuum R. W. Coolenſem," 91. In the pedigree of Bruyn of Tarvin, Cheſhire, Robert Whitney of Coole [in the pariſh of Wrenbury, Cheſhire,] is the third huſband of Anne Bryde, whoſe ſon by her ſecond huſband was Ralph Bruyn of Tarvin in 1566. Cheſh. Pedigrees MS. penes me. "Ad D. H. Wh. patruelis mei F." 92, 93. To his "Siſter M. D. Colley," 93. "Ad Ra. W." 94. To his "Father M. Geffrey Whitney," 164. To his "Uncle Geffrey Cartwrighte," 166. probably a branch of the Cartwrights of Aynho, Northamptonſhire, ſome of whom were ſeated at Wrenbury (Bridges' Northampt. i. 137.) and are recorded among the benefactors in the church. To his "kinſman M. Geffrey Whitney," 181. To his "nephew Ro. Borron," 191.

paſs, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, would have been an ill example and precedent.

Mr. Daniel Rogers, a very learned and accompliſhed man, ſon of Mr. John Rogers, the firſt martyr in the days of Mary, had been agent for the Queen in Germany and other northern parts; and was now, on his return, in the eye of the court for preferment. The Lord Treaſurer, by inſtructions from the Queen, had conferred with the archbiſhop, and written to Nowell, in order to beſtow upon him the Treaſurerſhip of St. Paul's, about to be vacated by the advancement of Dr. Weſtphaling to the biſhopric of Hereford. The Dean therefore, beſides an humble ſupplication to the Queen, from himſelf and other members of his church, intreating her Highneſs not to urge ſuch a thing upon them, wrote alſo to the Lord Treaſurer upon the ſubject; ſhewing the inconveniences that would follow, if a layman were admitted to the office of their Treaſurer, which had three ſeveral benefices annexed to it, and ought regularly to be held by a clergyman; that every prebendary of their church was bound to preach, and had his peculiar turn of preaching appointed to him; that if an entrance to the

Treaſurerſhip, charged with ſo many eccleſiaſtical cures, were afforded to a layman, the like might follow in the Deanery, ſhortly to be void by his extreme age and much ſicklineſs: he was therefore an humble ſuitor in behalf of his church, or rather of the whole church of England. For if the dignities of St. Paul's (which was of all others moſt in the eyes of the whole realm) were thus beſtowed, the ſame might be done in other churches, to the great decay and hindrance of the preaching of the goſpel, which had been ſo long by her gracious Majeſty maintained.

Theſe and ſimilar conſiderations, which the worthy Dean humbly but forcibly urged, had the deſired effect; and Bancroft, afterwards biſhop of London, was preſented to the Treaſurerſhip in the room of Weſtphaling [p].

In the Convocation, which ſat this year (1586) from November till March, Nowell,

[p] Strype's Whitg. p. 233—235. Strype ſays, "I hope it took place." Newcourt aſcertains the fact, vol. i. p. 107. where we have, among the Treaſurers of St. Paul's, Ric. Bancroft, S. T. P. 10 Feb. 1585. per promot. Weſtphaling ad Epiſc. Hereford. Nowell's letter to the Lord Treaſurer is in Burghley MS. xlvi. No. 74. dated Jan. 1. 1585.

by the cuſtomary privilege of the Deanery of St. Paul's, having the right of directing the election of Prolocutor[q], Redman, archdeacon of Canterbury, afterwards promoted to the ſee of Norwich, was choſen; and Nowell, with others, was occaſionally appointed one of his aſſeſſors or coadjutors, for the better diſpatch of buſineſs. But no deliberations or tranſactions are known to have taken place, that were of ſufficient magnitude to be at preſent intereſting. In a ſubſequent convocation, 1588, the learned Dr. Still, Maſter of Trinity college, Cambridge, who preached the Latin ſermon, was in like manner choſen Prolocutor, by the direction and recommendation of Nowell[r]. He was afterwards made biſhop of Bath and Wells; and has this high encomium from Sir John Harrington, his pupil: "To whom I never came, but I grew more religious: from whom I never went, but I parted better inſtructed[s]."

[q] Synodus Anglicana, p. 137.

[r] Synod. Anglic. p. 165.

[s] Brief View, p. 119. John Chetwind in 1652, dedicating this work of his maternal grandfather to Lady Jane Pile, widow of Sir Francis Pile of Colingborne, Wilts, ſays, "Your Ladyſhip with delight will read the duly merited praiſes of that Rev. prelate, Dr. John Still, whom your Ladyſhip's children call great grandfather."

The defeat of the Armada, in this ever-memorable year, 1588, filled every heart with rapture and every tongue with praiſe; but the Dean of St. Paul's was made choice of to give the firſt public notice of it from the pulpit, in a ſermon at the croſs, on tueſday the twentieth of Auguſt, before the Lord Mayor and aldermen and city companies, in their ſcarlet robes and richeſt liveries; when he exhorted them and the whole auditory to return thanks to God, for the great victory vouchſafed to the nation by the overthrow of the enemy [t]. He performed alſo the ſame honourable taſk a ſecond time, at the ſame place, on the eighth of September [u]; when eleven enſigns or banners, taken in the Spaniſh ſhips, were diſplayed before the preacher and the audience, on the lower battlements of St. Paul's; excepting one ſtreamer with a painting of the holy Virgin and Child, which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. The occaſion and the accompaniments might have inſpired the coldeſt breaſt with zeal, and the feebleſt preacher with eloquence; but the Dean, who poſſeſſed judgement in youth

[t] Stow's Chron. 751. Strype's Ann. iii. 525.
[u] Stow, 752.

and vigour in age, wanted no adventitious circumſtances to call forth his powers, when religion was his ſubject, and the pulpit the theatre of his exertion. The banners were hung, the next day, on London bridge, towards Southwark, where our Lady's fair, uſually commencing on the ſuppoſed day of her nativity, was kept; and the ſight of theſe trophies cauſed great rejoicing in all that beheld them.

The nineteenth of November was appointed for a general thankſgiving throughout the kingdom; and on ſunday the 24th of the ſame month, the Queen, in a chariot of ſtate, drawn by a pair of white horſes, went in ſolemn proceſſion from Somerſet Houſe to St. Paul's; where ſhe was received by the biſhop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others of the clergy; and a ſermon was preached on the occaſion by Piers, biſhop of Saliſbury[x], Almoner to the Queen, who in February following was tranſlated to York[y].

This example of elder days in fixing one day for national thankſgiving, and another for the proceſſion of the Court to St. Paul's,

[x] Stow's Chron. p. 753—755.

[y] Ath. Oxon. i. 714.

except that Sunday was the day appointed [z], ſeems to be a precedent not unworthy of attention, whenever it pleaſes divine Providence to confer bleſſings of ſuch magnitude (of which we have ſeen many inſtances) as to ſuggeſt to a religious Sovereign the duty of giving thanks in the cathedral of the metropolis. For though there is a manifeſt propriety in the monarch and his ſubjects giving thanks, as with one voice, on one and the ſame day; yet this is more than overbalanced by the inevitable inconvenience, that curioſity will draw thouſands to gaze upon the proceſſion, who would otherwiſe not neglect more important duties in their reſpective churches.

It is not perhaps generally known, that in order "to revive" the memory of "this bleſſing (which ought never to be forgotten) and for it to eternize God's praiſe amongſt us," Mr. Thomas Chapman, a worthy citizen of London, inſtituted in his life time, and by large legacies at his death provided for the continuance of, three ſermons at St.

[z] It ſeems firſt to have been fixed for Nov. 18. which was the monday preceding. See the Lord Mayor's Letter on the occaſion from Q. Elizabeth's Progreſſes, in Gent. Mag. 1806. p. 841. The reaſon of the day being changed I have not diſcovered.

Pancras, Soper's Lane; one on the 17th of November, in thankful remembrance of the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, and of "the eſtabliſhment of that truth of the goſpel and diſcipline of the church, which we now enjoy;" the ſecond on the 12th of Auguſt, for our deliverance from the Spaniſh Armada; and a third on November 5, "for the preſervation of our King and ſtate from that damnable powder plot, as yet unparalleled in any age ſince the world began." So ſays the learned Thomas Gataker, in a ſermon on the anniverſary of the defeat of the Armada, dedicated to the ſon and heir of the Founder of the lecture [a], on Pſalm xlviii. 7, 8. which was perhaps one of the texts alluded to in the famous medal on the occaſion, "*Flavit Jehovah, et diſſipati ſunt.*"

About this time Nowell quitted the prebend of Wildland, the fifth ſtall in St. Paul's, in which he was ſucceeded by William Hutchinſon, archdeacon of St. Alban's; and was collated to Tottenham, the firſt ſtall, on the death of Adam Squire [b], archdeacon of

[a] "To the worſhipful his very loving Friend, Mr. Thomas Chapman," &c. London, 1626. 4to. penes me.

[b] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 113. Newcourt, i. 82. 215. He has two copies of verſes, one Greek, the other Latin, on biſhop Jewell, in

Middleſex and Maſter of Balliol college, who married a daughter of biſhop Aylmer, and was by her the father of John Squire, vicar of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, the learned author of ſeveral ſingle ſermons, and of "A plain Expoſition upon the firſt part of the ſecond chapter of 2 Theſſalonians, proving the Pope to be Antichriſt [c]."

By the ancient conſtitution of St. Paul's, the number of prebendaries being thirty, five of the pſalms were aſſigned to the daily meditation of each of them; and the firſt words of the firſt of each five were inſcribed on the reſpective ſtalls [d]; whence Dr. Donne, when he was dean of this church and prebendary of Chiſwick, laid upon himſelf the obligation of preaching his prebend ſermons on ſome portion of each of his five pſalms, which began with the ſixty ſecond. "As the whole booke," he ſays, "is manna; ſo theſe five pſalms are my Gomer, which I am to fill and empty every day of this manna [e]." To

Humphr. V. Juel. See more of him in Strype's Aylmer, p. 173. 177. 186—191.

[c] Lond. 1630. 4to. See Ath. Oxon. i. F. 183. Strype's Aylmer, p. 177. 180. 191. Newcourt, i. 687.

[d] Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynward, App. p. 40—42.

[e] Donne's Sermons, Lond. 1640. vol. i. f. 663. See alſo f. 653. 673. 683.

the firſt ſtall, to which Nowell was now collated, the five firſt pſalms belonged; and "*Beatus Vir qui non abiit*" was his motto [f].

When he had obtained this better ſtall, if not before, he reſigned his living of Hadham, and was ſucceeded by Theophilus Aylmer, a learned man and reverend divine, worthy of the biſhop his father, and not unworthy to be Nowell's ſucceſſor; for he was an excellent preacher, much commended afterwards by James I. to whom he was chaplain; of ſingular humility and unbounded charity. Among his laſt prayers was a fervent petition for his flock, "that they all might be ſaved," and "that God would ſend faithful paſtors among them." As death came with nearer approaches towards him, he ſhewed greater acts of faith and fearleſsneſs: "Let my people know, he ſaid, that their paſtor died undaunted, and not afraid of death. I bleſs my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctation, but an aſſured confidence in the ſin-overcoming merits of Jeſus Chriſt." In the concluſion of all he cloſed his eyes with his own hands, and ſlept in peace, in the month of January, 1625-6. He was buried in his

[f] Newcourt, i. 54.

own church, and honoured with a funeral ſermon by the moſt learned archbiſhop Uſher [g].

But we muſt not go beyond the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth; when the want of learned and able preachers was ſtill felt and lamented; of which one cauſe was the poverty and paucity of ſtudents in the univerſities, and the little encouragement given to men of real talents and diligence. To remedy, in ſome meaſure, theſe inconveniences, the univerſity of Cambridge ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, their Chancellor, a liſt of preachers unprovided for; together with a petition, that he would be pleaſed to conſider of ſome mode of relief, particularly by promoting contributions among the opulent citizens, recommending the Dean of St. Paul's to be treaſurer of the charity; "by whom, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others, it ſhall be well beſtowed [h]."

[g] Strype's Aylmer, p. 176—184.

[h] Strype's Ann. iii. 269. At the end of a vol. of Sermons by Richard Greenham, 1605. folio, is a Letter without date to ſome nobleman, (probably Lord Burghley) called "Maſter Greenham's care for the poore ſchollers of Cambridge;" where, towards the concluſion, he ſays, "Further we ſhall be ready, each other year or oftner, to make our accounts to Maiſter Nowell Deane of Paules, Maſter Oſburn of the Exchequer, maiſter Docter Ham-

This was an honourable, but not a ſolitary inſtance of preference, when he was ſelected by the other univerſity to ſuperintend and diſpenſe the donations, which were deſigned for their benefit.

The pious Lady Frances Sidney, ennobled as the relict of the third Earl of Suſſex, nor leſs illuſtrious as ſiſter to Sir Henry and aunt to Sir Philip Sidney, provided by her will for the erection of the college in the univerſity of Cambridge, which bears her name; and alſo ordered that Dean Nowell ſhould preach her funeral ſermon, "which, no doubt," ſays Fuller, "was accordingly done[i]." The epitaph, on her very ſtately monument in the chapel of St. Paul, in Weſtminſter abbey, where her effigies, in full length and beautifully robed, reſts under a canopy on an embroidered cuſhion, informs us ſhe died on the ninth of March, and was buried on the fifteenth of April, 1589.

mond, maiſter Vincent Skinner, or ſome two of theſe or any other whom your Lordſhip ſhall think meete herein." As "Mr. Doctor Hamonde was delivered to the earthe," as Fleetwood the Recorder ſays (Lodge's Illuſtrations of Brit. Hiſt. 1791. ii. 382.) "uppon the laſte mondaye" of Dec. 1589. this letter of Greenham's muſt have been prior to that date.

[i] Fuller's Hiſt. Cambr. p. 153. See alſo Strype's Ann. iii. 588.

A month had ſcarcely paſſed, when he was called upon to perform the ſame melancholy office for another great perſonage, in whoſe death he probably felt a deeper intereſt, as ſhe had often, while living, conſulted and employed him as her almoner. This was the celebrated Mildred Cecil, wife of Lord Burghley, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Coke. Her afflicted huſband ſoothed his ſorrow for her loſs in recounting ſome of the deeds of charity, great, numerous, and permanent, which ſhe had deviſed and conducted in her life-time; chiefly without his knowledge, but with the advice of the Deans of St. Paul's and Weſtminſter, ſhe enjoining them ſecreſy, and "forcing upon them ſome fine pieces of plate, to be uſed in their chambers, as remembrances of her good will for their pains [k]."

Lord Burghley alſo drew up a paper of inſtructions for the Dean, preparatory to his ſermon, to be preached at her funeral. From this authentic document one teſtimony ſhall

[k] Strype's Annals, iii. 595—597. Ballard's Mem. of learned Ladies, p. 184. The original papers are among the Burghley MSS. in the Lanſdowne collection, vol. ciii. No. 51. and 57. The meditations are dated April 9, 1589; the inſtructions for the Dean the 21ſt of the ſame month.

ſuffice, that "he had lived with her in the ſtate of matrimony forty and two years without any unkindneſs." Let me be indulged in adding one circumſtance, which, if not of equal importance, is at leaſt new, and unknown to the biographers of this matchleſs lady. In the library of the late revered and excellent Dr. Townſon, Rector of Malpas and Archdeacon of Richmond, was a beautiful copy of the *O mirificam* Greek Teſtament of Robert Stephens, with the name of *Mildreda Cecilia*, neatly written by her own hand, in Greek letters. It is now (1806) with moſt of his other books, the property of Reginald Heber, late of Braſen Noſe college, now Fellow of All Souls[1], whoſe prize poem on Paleſtine, 1803, marks the genuine feelings of a poet and a Chriſtian.

In the ſelection of Nowell to the important office of preaching funeral ſermons, of which ſeveral memorable inſtances have occurred, and others will meet us as we proceed, and many more, probably, have eſcaped our ſearch, we have a teſtimony at once honourable to his worth and talents, and an inci-

[1] Now (1807) Rector of Hodnet, Salop, on the preſentation of his brother, Richard Heber, Eſquire.

dental proof of the truth of the account inſcribed on his picture, that age did not impair the faculties of his mind, or make any of them weak or uſeleſs [m]. Thomas Newton therefore, in his "*Illuſtrium aliquot Anglorum Encomia*," ſubjoined to Leland's *Encomia*, which he publiſhed in this year, 1589, expreſſed not only his own affectionate regard, but the congenial feelings alſo of the public mind, in wiſhing him "the return of many a ſummer and many a winter, that he might long continue to ſerve his country, by unfolding the word of God, and diſpenſing the food of heavenly life [n]." The author, who had ſtudied in both univerſities, was ſo renowned, as Wood obſerves, for his Latin poetry, that he was numbered by the ſcholars of his time among the moſt noted poets in that language [o]. He had already publiſhed various works, ſome original, and ſome tranſlated; one of which procured him a hand-

[m] See above, p. 83.

[n] Lel. Collect. by Hearne, v 182. "*Ad reverendum D. Alexandrum Nouellum, vere theologum, Phani Paulini Dec. digniſſ.*

Ut longum, longumque, tuis ſis fructifer Anglis,
Et reſeres ſummi verba (Noelle) Dei,
Ut populum doceas cœleſtis pabula vitæ,
Æſtas multa tibi, multa recurrat hyems."

[o] Ath. Oxon. i. 337.

ſome compliment, in Latin verſe, from the pen of Camden [p]; but without mentioning or alluding to theſe or other circumſtances, which were highly to his credit, only retaining a ſtrong affection for his *natale ſolum*, though he had long quitted it for the Rectory of Ilford in Eſſex, he ſimply ſtyles himſelf, "Thomas Newtonus *Ceſtreſhyrius*."

The Queen, this ſame year, gave him the next preſentation to a Canonry of Windſor, by a patent dated October 20, in which ſome of the particulars require to be mentioned. It is ſtated, that her Majeſty was pleaſed to grant this addition to his income, in conſideration of his conſtant preaching of the word of God, during the ſpace of almoſt forty years; and becauſe he had lately reſigned the Rectory of Hadham and prebend of Willand, as being, through age and imbecillity of body, not equal to the duties of them; nor likely, on account of his extreme age and infirm health, long to enjoy either his preſent or any future preferment [q].

[p] Leland, ut ſupra, p. 180. Newton has verſes to the two archbiſhops, Whitgift (p. 170.) and Piers (171.) to biſhop Aylmer (ib.) and Fleetwood the Recorder, whoſe eloquence he compares to the thunder of Pericles. p. 175.

[q] Patent 31 Eliz. p. 9. Rolls.

There was no vacancy in the church of Windſor, from this time, till the year 1594 [r]; when, in virtue of this royal grant, he ſucceeded on the death of Richard Reeve, who had, in his younger days, been a noted ſchoolmaſter at Berkhamſtead [s]; where, among others, he inſtructed Thomas Dorman in learning and religion, which he afterwards diſgraced by falling away to popery, and writing in defence of it.

The commiſſion for cauſes eccleſiaſtical was now renewed, and publiſhed at Lambeth the laſt day of the year, when all the commiſſioners dined with the archbiſhop. Of thoſe who had been in commiſſion from the beginning of the Queen's reign, two only were now living, Fleetwood the Recorder, and the Dean of St. Paul's, who were both included in the new warrant [t]. They had not

[r] Apr. 28. Ath. Oxon. i. 313. or Apr. 23. according to White Kennet's MS. Add. in the Library of Mr. Gough.

[s] Ath. Oxon. i. 189. F. 59.

[t] See a Letter by Fleetwood to the Earl of Derby, "This new yere's day, 1589," in Lodge's Illuſtrations of Brit. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 382. William Fleetwood, Serjeant at law, who was born at Penwortham, near Preſton, Lancaſhire, was, as Wood thinks, (Ath. Oxon. i. 621.) of Braſen Noſe college, or Broadgate hall. In the library of Braſen Noſe is a volume, which once belonged to him, and was by him "freely given unto Sir Edmund Ander-

been long inveſted with their powers, when an information was lodged with the archbiſhop, not concerning puritans or papiſts, but againſt a dignitary of the church, Griffin,

ſon, knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas." It is Lyndewoode's Provinciale, printed at Antwerp, 1525, at the expence of Francis Brickman, "honeſti mercatoris" in St. Paul's church yard; together with the "Conſtitutions provincial or Legantine," printed at Paris, 1506, by Jod. Badius Aſcenſius, and by him dedicated "ſtudioſiſſimo et probiſſimo majoris Britannie ſeu Eccleſie Anglicane clero." A memorandum in Fleetwood's hand, 1582, ſays, "He that made the commentaries upon this book was William Lyndewoode, born in the dale of Milaine, now called Landeſdale, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, who upon the mother's ſide was deſcended of the family of Tunſtalls of Thorland Caſtle, within Landeſdale aforeſaid. This Lyndewoode was a Cambridge man, and Dr. of both the laws. He was great uncle unto Cutbert Tunſtall, late biſhop of Dureſme. He was before and at the time of K. Henry the 5th. ambaſſador in Portugall; he returned by reaſon that the ſaid K. deceaſed at Boyes St. Vincent in France, A. D. 1422. And after he was Official general unto archbiſhop Chichley, at whoſe requeſt he made theſe Commentaries." &c. It is a curious volume, adorned with ſome very elegant wood cuts, and has the earlier and neat autograph of Thomas Redman; but whether he was a kinſman of John or William Redman already mentioned, is not known. The book, with many others, was given to Braſen Noſe college by Henry Maſon, B. D. of whom ſee Ath. Oxon. ii. 107. and as this circumſtantial account of Lyndwood, who in 1435 was made Biſhop of St. David's, and is by Godwin ſaid to have been LL. D. of Oxford, differs in ſome reſpects from his biographers, Harpsfield, Tanner, &c. the candid reader will the rather pardon this long note.

Dean of Lincoln; who was charged, by the residentiaries of that church, with having vented an opinion, or at least used expressions, in a sermon in their cathedral, which were highly unbecoming, if not absolutely blasphemous, concerning the person and character of Christ.

It was the desire of the archbishop, that the controversy might be terminated by the ordinary of the place; but that not succeeding to his wishes, the Dean was convened and examined before his Grace, the bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others, upon all the articles alleged against him; and though they all unanimously disapproved and condemned the manner of speech, which he had used in his sermon; yet as they found him, in substance of doctrine, to differ in no respect from themselves, and as he begged pardon for the unwary expressions, which he had used, and promised to abstain from such in future; the prudent archbishop thought it best, for the quiet of the church, that the matter should rest [u].

[u] Strype's Whitgift, p. 356. Ralph Griffin, M. A. elected Dean of Lincoln, Dec. 17, 1584, was succeeded, as Le Neve and Brown

It is not poſſible, whatever "ſtudious care" we may uſe (agreeably to the precept of early wiſdom) always to eſcape the entanglements of law. The pacific Nowell was about this period, as he had alſo been before, and was ſome time afterwards, involved in ſeveral long and chargeable litigations[x]; in which I know not whether his very humanity did not contribute to engage him, as the intereſt of others ſeems, in general, to have been more nearly concerned, than his own. Of theſe legal diſputes, were the progreſs and iſſue of them more certainly known, the details at this time would not be neceſſary; but certain circumſtances connected with the tranſactions are not altogether incurious, or unintereſting.

Writing, in the year 1590, to his "ſpecial good frende Mr. Egerton, principal Sollicitor to the Queenes Majeſtie," afterwards the famous Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, who was

Willis (Survey Linc. p. 78.) ſay, by John Reynolds in 1593. Wood has it (probably by a miſtake or miſprint) 1598. Ath. Oxon. i. 339.

[x] In behalf of certain orphans, of whom more hereafter: as ſuitor, in conjunction with Braſen Noſe college, to the Privy Council, to the Queen, and in the court of Common Pleas, againſt Sir Edward Hoby, who retained, for ſeveral years, the rents of Upberry and Gillingham. See App. No. x.

educated (but at a later period) in the ſame college with himſelf, "praying him verie hartely to be of his counſell," in a matter of dilapidations againſt a tenant, as alſo in the caſe of a forfeiture of bond by the biſhop of London, he ſays, "I am bolde to ſend vnto your woorſhyppe a poore tooken, for the antiquitie rather then for the value of the ſame[y]." A few years afterwards, in a like caſe and for a ſimilar purpoſe, he ſent to Mr. Hickes, Lord Burghley's ſecretary, what he terms "the Image of our late yonge Kynge, the Joſias of England." Whether, as I ſuſpect, a piece of money was, in both theſe inſtances, the retaining fee, I will not venture to pronounce; nor whether, if it was ſo, in the good days of old, counſellors and ſecretaries, learned in the law, preferred a *douceur*, which was valuable for its curioſity, rather than its currency; but one thing, in theſe letters, it is impoſſible not to obſerve and admire, the heart-felt complacency, with which, on the proſpect of being delivered, chiefly by the authority and "great travel" of Lord Burghley, from ſome of theſe tedious

[y] See the Letter (dated July 7, 1590) copied from the Egerton Papers in the Library of the moſt noble the Marquis of Stafford, by favour of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the Appendix, No. xi.

ſuits in the law, he ſpeaks of being thereby "reſtored unto the quiet and comfortable ſtudies of the holy Scriptures again[z]." He was haſtening faſt, when he wrote this, to the age of the pious and patriotic Barzillai; but the appetite for reading, as well as food, had not deſerted him; and what the orator ſaid with feeling and with truth of human letters, he found more eminently true of the divine, that they are "the ſuſtenance of youth, and the delight of old age."

Mullins, archdeacon of London, the friend and companion of Nowell in his exile, now like him full of years, "lay in great extremity of ſickneſs" in the ſpring of 1591; and he being one of the Reſidentiaries of St. Paul's, intereſt was made with the Dean for the reſidentiaryſhip, likely to be vacant by his deceaſe. On this occaſion Aylmer, biſhop of London, eſpouſed the cauſe of his nephew and chaplain, Dr. Vaughan, archdeacon of Middleſex; who, having been ſome years a prebendary of St. Paul's[a], "had often

[z] To Lord Burghley, June 26, 1584. Burghley MS. xlii. No. 73. The letter will be quoted again, as we proceed, for another purpoſe.

[a] Collated by Aylmer to the Preb. of Holborn, Nov. 18, 1583. Newcourt, i. 28. 158. I have met with only one certain in-

been a ſuitor to the Dean and chapter for a reſidentiary's place," but, "to his no ſmall diſcouragement, had not" hitherto "prevailed." The biſhop therefore, underſtanding that, on the preſent proſpect of a vacancy, "divers had already been recommended to the Dean and chapter," was "bold," as he ſays, ("partly being moved in conſcience, left by ſo many repulſes his ſaid chaplain ſhould be altogether diſcouraged) to pray" the Lord Treaſurer's "favourable aſſiſtance in this ſuit. Wherefore if it may pleaſe your good Lordſhip, at my intreaty, to addreſs your honourable letters to Mr. Dean on his behalf, I ſhall be in great hope, that the ſucceſs will be better now, than it hath been heretofore." And he added, by way of poſtſcript, "Truly, my good Lord, I am marvelouſly troubled for lack of ſuch a one as he is" (a learned and able preacher, as he had before deſcribed him) "to be ready

ſtance of a vacancy among the Reſidentiaries from that time till 1591. Robert Towers was a Reſidentiary (Reg. Nowell, ii. f. 179. b. 183.) though not ſo named in Newcourt; and dying in 1585, was ſucceeded in his Preb. of Wenlakeſbarn by Henry Hammond (Newc. i. 222.) not by Thomas White, as Wood has it, Ath. Ox. i. 485. White however was afterwards, as we ſhall ſee, a Reſidentiary; and he is ſo called, for the firſt time, I believe, in Gutch's Annals, ii. 791.

to ſupply the defaults at the croſs, which by ſickneſs," or otherwiſe, often " happen [b]." The effect of this application is not known, but the circumſtances of the caſe are too memorable to be paſſed over, as they are by Strype, without any remark, or comment whatſoever.

The Reſidentiaries of St. Paul's, though, in point of form, they are elective by the Dean and chapter, are virtually however, as is well known, in the patronage of the Crown; and upon every vacancy that occurs, a letter miſſive from his Majeſty recommending ſome clerk, who is previouſly a prebendary by the collation of the biſhop of London, is as certain in its operation, as the *Congé d'élire* for

[b] See Strype's Aylmer, p. 295. where 1592 ſhould be 1591, as appears by the letter itſelf, here quoted, which is dated Apr. 17, 1591. Burghley MS. lxviii. No. 24. Mullins was of Magdalen college, Oxford, whence he was ejected by Gardiner's commiſſioners, 26 Oct. 1553. Wood's Annals, ii. 121. He was Greek Reader to the exiles at Frankford. Strype's Mem. iii. 333. Chaplain to Grindal (Strype's Parker, p. 103.) who collated him to the archdeaconry of London, Dec. 13, 1559. He was alſo Rector of Theydon in Eſſex, and Dean of Bocking, and ſometime Rector of St. Botolph's, Billingſgate. Newcourt, i. 63. ii. 584. His effigies and epitaph are engraved in Dugd. St. Paul's, p. 106. He founded two exhibitions of ſix pounds a year in Magdalen college; died May 22, 1591; and was ſucceeded in his archdeaconry by Theophilus Aylmer, June 1, 1591. Le Neve, p. 188.

the election of a bishop: by resistance, in one case as well as the other, a *premunire* would be incurred. But at the time, when so many candidates were recommended to Dean Nowell, when a letter from his friend Burghley, the dispenser of royal favour, would merely strengthen the interest, but not insure the success, of the person whom he might name, the circumstances of these dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul were evidently not as they are at present.

Sir George Buck in his Third University of England, compiled about the year 1612, informs us, that there had formerly been "many more Residentiaries of St. Pauls," than there were at that period [c], but does not mention what was the exact number of them, either then, or before.

We learn from the statutes of this very ancient foundation, that it was customary, in early days, for all the Canons or Prebendaries to reside, being thirty in number; and when, in process of time, many, by mutual connivance, withdrew themselves to their cures or

[c] Stow's Chron. ed. Howes, 1631. p. 1077. b. Buck's Ded. to Sir Edward Coke is dated 1612.

avocations elſewhere, the remaining few bound themſelves by a new oath, to reſide and attend the duties of the church [d]. While reſidence was thus optional, and the Reſidentiaries no otherwiſe limited or reſtricted, but that they ſhould previouſly announce their intention in the chapter, at one of the four quarters of the year, with a power of rejection however in the chapter, if thoſe who preſented themſelves were judged unfit for the office; at length, by increaſing luxury and extravagance, enormous expence and entertainments being required of the new dignitary, in his firſt year of reſidence, the Reſidentiaries were reduced to two only, and no others found willing to undertake the office.

In this ſtate of uncertainty and diſorder, Braybroke, biſhop of London, wiſhing to reform growing abuſes in his cathedral, interpoſed his viſitatorial authority; but with no other effect, than that both parties, after long diſpute, agreed to ſubmit the pending controverſy to royal arbitration. It was finally therefore accorded, by an order from

[d] Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynward, App. p. 32.

the Crown in 1399, that reſidence ſhould be kept in future according to the form of the Sarum miſſal [e].

In the courſe of a century there was again great need of a reform; which Warham, the memorable friend of Eraſmus, during the ſhort time that he was biſhop of London, ſet himſelf to accompliſh; and the excellent Dean Colet, that other diſtinguiſhed friend of the ſame illuſtrious foreigner, ſoon after carried it into full effect. In the body of ſtatutes as they were reviſed by him, and confirmed by the legatine authority of cardinal Wolſey, it was enacted, that, as the burdens of St. Paul's were heavy, and the patrimony ſlender, and not competent to ſuſtain a numerous train of Reſidentiaries, there ſhould in future be, under the Dean as head, four and only four Canons Reſident [f]; eligible, as before, out of the ſenior prebendaries, offering themſelves and proteſting their deſign of reſidence, as for-

[e] Clauſ. 22 Ric. ii. 2 p. 1. m. 4. April. 16. Dugd. ut ſupra, App. p. 39.

[f] Sub Decano reſidente ſint *alii* Reſidentes *quatuor* et *tantum quatuor* ex Canonicis. Dugd. St. Paul's, ed. Maynward, App. p. 44. 53. Warham's regulations are mentioned, p. 25. (where "A. Chr. M.CCCC°." ſhould be "M.CCCCCII°." or "M.CCCCCIII°.") and p. 43.

merly [g], at one of the quarterly feaſts; when, if none came forward, ſome one ſhould be invited to accept the office, and, in caſe of refuſal, be amerced in ſome pecuniary fine [h].

The conſtitution of St. Paul's continued, it is apprehended, in this ſtate, when another century was haſtening to its cloſe; at which time, as we have ſeen, there was no want of candidates for the place of Reſidentiary, but conſiderable anxiety for the ſucceſs of a meritorious individual, who was afterwards the worthy biſhop of London.

In the cathedral of Lincoln the cuſtom, in ancient times, was ſimilar to what appears to have been the rule in St. Paul's. Of the numerous body of prebendaries, members of that church, any one, who choſe it, uſed to proteſt in chapter his intention to become a Reſidentiary; and they were obliged to admit him accordingly, upon taking the uſual oath. A practice, ſo variable and uncertain as this, being found inconvenient in many reſpects, it was ſettled and agreed in a general chapter, about three hundred years ago, with the concurrence of the biſhop, that the number

[g] Ib. 35.

[h] Ib. 44, 45. Wolſey's decree, to whom the regulations were ſubmitted by Colet, Sept. 1, 1518, occurs at p. 53.

of Reſidentiaries ſhould be limited to four; who were to be the four principal perſons of the church, as the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Subdean [i]. An alteration not very diſſimilar took place, at a later period, 1697, in the church of York; when, in conſequence of a repreſentation from the Dean and chapter, the number of Reſidentiaries was reduced, under a writ of Privy Seal, from ſix to four, now as formerly in the nomination of the Dean [k].

The number of Reſidentiaries however in St. Paul's has not, I believe (as I once imagined) by any poſitive agreement, ſubſequent

[i] Letter, March 15, 1803, from Mr. John Fardell, Deputy Regiſtrar of Lincoln; in whoſe death I regret the loſs of a prompt Friend, an accurate Antiquary, and a truly worthy man. He died Feb. 16, 1805. See Gent. Mag. of that year, p. 284. Notwithſtanding this union or conſolidation of a Reſidentiaryſhip of Lincoln with the Deanery of that church, it would ſeem that Government ſtill conſiders them as *diſtinct* preferments. For the London Gazette of Jan. 23, 1762, announces, "The King has been pleaſed to promote the Hon. and Rev. James Yorke, clerk, M. A. to the Deanry of the Cathedral church of Lincoln, void by the promotion of John Green, D. D. late Dean thereof, to the biſhoprick of Lincoln. And alſo to that Reſidentiary's place in the ſaid Cathedral church, which was lately in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Dr. John Green."

[k] From the obliging information of the Rev. Dr. Markham, the preſent Dean of York (1807.)

to the reviſal of the ſtatutes by Dean Colet, ſuffered a further reduction from four to three; but ſince, at ſome period, poſterior, as it ſeems, to the reign of Elizabeth, though alike unknown in the records of the Chapter, and in the epiſcopal regiſters of the ſee of London, and, ſo far as I can learn, in the Offices of State, the Crown has obtained the right or privilege of recommending to the Reſidentiaryſhips in this church, it has ſometimes been the will and pleaſure of the Sovereign to recommend one and the ſame favoured individual to the place or dignity of Dean, and alſo to that of a Reſidentiary; and ſometimes to the place of Dean only; in which latter caſe there are, more conformably to the purport of the ſtatutes, four Reſidentiaries together with the Dean.

In the year 1621, White, Carey, King, and Montford, each of them ſeparately and diſtinctly ſtyled Reſidentiary, elected Dr. Donne Dean of St. Paul's[1]; when this very

[1] See the election in Reg. Decan. et Capit. S. Pauli. G. f. 1—3. Tho. White Canon. Reſident. et Stagiarius ac Præbend. de Mora, preſident of the Chapter, Valent. Carey Epiſc. Exon. Canon. Reſident. et Stagiarius ac Præbend. de Chiſwick, Henry King, &c. This was Nov. 27, 1621. Carey was conſecrated biſhop of Exeter the 18th of that month; he died in 1626, and

ſingular circumſtance occurred, that Carey, biſhop of Exeter, who made the vacancy, aſſiſted as Reſidentiary and prebendary of Chiſwick, in electing his own ſucceſſor in the Deanery; and, as far as appears, he held the prebendal ſtall, and with it, I preſume, the reſidentiaryſhip, *in commendam*, till his death.

In the laſt century "the King was pleaſed to direct the archbiſhop of Canterbury to grant his diſpenſation to Dr. Thomas Secker, biſhop of Oxford, for enabling him to accept and hold *in commendam* the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, and the place of Canon Reſidentiary and Stagiary and the Prebend of Portpool in the ſaid Cathedral, void by the promotion of Dr. Joſeph Butler, late biſhop of Briſtol and Dean of the ſaid cathedral church of St. Paul, to the ſee of Durham [m]." But on the promotion of the former learned prelate from Oxford to Canterbury, Dr. John Hume, who ſucceeded him in the biſhopric of Oxford, was, in virtue of a Letter recommendatory from his Majeſty for that purpoſe, choſen to ſucceed

no other Prebendary of Chiſwick occurs till May 2, 1631. Newcourt, i. 50. 140.

[m] London Gazette, Nov. 17, 1750.

him alſo in the Deanery of St. Paul's [n]; and in purſuance of another Letter recommendatory, a month afterwards, from the King, the Dean and chapter elected Chriſtopher Wilſon, D. D. Prebendary of the ſaid church, to the place of Canon Reſidentiary, vacant by the tranſlation of the ſaid Dr. Secker, biſhop of Oxford, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury [o].

In 1670 the excellent Dr. Stillingfleet, in conſideration of the "eminent ſervice" which he had "done by his learned writings for the Church of England in particular, and the defence of the Chriſtian Truth in general [p]," was recommended by Charles II. to the place of a Reſidentiary of St. Paul's; and ſeven years afterwards, upon the remo-

[n] Gazette, May 27, 1758. Biſhop Hume, on his tranſlation to Saliſbury, 1766, was ſucceeded at St. Paul's (Nov. 28, 1766.) by Dr. Cornwallis; and in 1768, Dr. Thomas Newton, biſhop of Briſtol, was recommended "to be elected into the place of Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, void by the promotion of Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, late biſhop of Lichfield and Dean thereof, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury." Gazette, Oct. 4, 1768.

[o] Gazette, July 8, 1758. which is the date of the Letter miſſive from the King.

[p] Words of the King's Letter, 9 June, 1670. Dr. Timothy Goodwin's Life of Stillingfleet, Lond. 1710. p. 22.

val of the learned and pious Dr. William Sancroft from the Deanery of St. Paul's to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, he was promoted to the Deanery[q]; and if, as is probable, he was permitted to hold his Reſidentiaryſhip with the Deanery, he was perhaps the firſt perſon, in whoſe favour a departure from the ſtrict letter and tenor of the ſtatutes was made, by the uniting of a Reſidentiaryſhip with the Deanery; a practice, which in later times has been more frequent, but, as it appears, not univerſal. It may be proper to add, that the eccleſiaſtical Regiſters of the Dean and chapter (diſtinct from the records of their temporal concerns) which might probably have thrown additional light on this ſubject, and on many other points touched upon in theſe memoirs, are ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the fire of London, 1666; for the earlieſt now extant does not commence till ſome years after the time of that fatal cataſtrophe.

In the ſame year 1591, the occurrences of which led to this digreſſion, there was an expectation in the univerſity of Cambridge, that the Maſterſhip of Trinity college would

[q] Ibid.

be void by the promotion of Dr. Still (as lately mentioned [r]) to a biſhopric. Of this, as it ſeems, Dr. Goad, Provoſt of King's college, informed the Dean, requeſting him at the ſame time to uſe his intereſt, that Dr. Whitaker, Maſter of St. John's, might be preferred to the more valuable headſhip of Trinity. The worthy Dean, anxious to ſerve his friend and kinſman, forwarded Dr. Goad's letter, the day he received it, together with one of his own, to the Lord Treaſurer; reminding his good Lordſhip of Dr. Whitaker's learning, well known at Cambridge by the productions of his pen in Greek and Latin; and not unknown to his Lordſhip, to whom ſeveral of his works had been dedicated. His fitneſs for preſiding over a learned ſociety had partly appeared by the quietneſs and good order, eſtabliſhed in St. John's college ſince he became Maſter of it; and as for his circumſtances, they were ſo far from being affluent, that the Dean, in conſideration of his poverty, had now for two years paſt taken upon himſelf the maintenance of one of his ſons [s].

[r] P. 292.

[s] Brit. Muſ. MS. Birch, 4276. f. 43. The letter is dated Apr. 29, 1591. A copy of it was obligingly communicated to me

This application in behalf of Whitaker, whatever might be the reaſon of it, proved unſucceſsful; the learned profeſſor was deſtined to remain at St. John's; and Dr. Still was ſucceeded at Trinity by the "magnificent Nevil[t]," as Fuller calls him, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, and a great benefactor to the college, where the interior quadrangle, called Nevil Court, was built at his expence, and preſerves his name.

In the year 1592, which the learned and pious but Calviniſtic Perkins ſtyles (I know not for what reaſon) "the year of the laſt patience of ſaints[u]," I have met with no

by the late Rev. Samuel Ayſcough, of the Britiſh Muſeum,—one out of many favours, which I owe to his accuracy and friendſhip. See an account of him, accompanied with an engraving, a ſtriking but not quite a favourable likeneſs, in Gent. Mag. 1804. 1093.

[t] "Tho. Nevil the moſt magnificent Maſter and Benefactour of Trin. Coll." Fuller in the Index, referring to Hiſt. Camb. p. 122. where, in the margin, by a ſtrange blunder, it is "Magnifecant Newly."

[u] Addreſs prefixed to his "Armilla aurea," July 23, 1592. In the Parliament, which met in February following, an act was paſſed, 35 Eliz. c. 1. "to retain the Queen's ſubjects in due obedience," forbidding unlawful conventicles, &c. But it is not very probable, that Elizabeth's wiſe counſellors, if they had at this time ſuch an act in contemplation, would ſuffer their deſign to be publicly known half a year beforehand; if it could be thought likely, that Perkins, on the proſpect or fear of ſuch an act impending, would ſo expreſs himſelf.

particular tranſaction of Nowell; unleſs he now perhaps purchaſed of Richard Smith, M. D. a houſe in the pariſh of St. Alban's, Woodſtreet; which, about the cloſe of the next year, was ſecured to him and his wife and their heirs for ever[x]; and as the price (470 l.) indicates the houſe to have been a pretty good one, it was probably intended for the reſidence of his wife, if ſhe ſurvived him.

On the 22d of Auguſt, 1595, Mr. Harris, the fourth Principal of Braſen Noſe college, reſigned the headſhip, as his two immediate predeceſſors had done; and retiring from the ſociety, over which he had preſided more than twenty years, ended his days in the city of Worceſter[y]; and on the fifteenth day from the vacancy, as the ſtatutes of the college ſeem to require, the Dean of St. Paul's was choſen to ſucceed him[z]. This election of Nowell, now on the verge of ninety, was perhaps intended or accepted rather as a

[x] Pat. 36 Eliz. p. 10. Feb. 22, 1593-4. Rolls. The conjecture, as to the deſtination of the houſe for Mrs. Nowell's reſidence, has ſince been confirmed, as will appear in the ſequel.

[y] A. Wood, Colleges, p. 363. who thinks he was buried in the cathedral there.

[z] Reg. Coll. Æn. Naſ. A. f. 25. 26.

compliment, than with a view to the performance of much actual ſervice; for it is certain, that he reſigned in December following, and was ſucceeded in the headſhip by Thomas Singleton; having in the interim, October 1, been created D. D. with allowance of ſeniority over all doctors in the univerſity, not only out of regard had to his age, but likewiſe to his dignity in the church[a].

In this year died the learned Dr. Whitaker, ſo lately and ſo often mentioned in theſe pages, leaving behind him, as Wood ſays, "the deſire and love of the preſent times, and the envy of poſterity, that cannot bring forth his parallel[b]." He was nephew to the Dean of St. Paul's, the ſecond ſon of his ſiſter Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Whitaker, gentleman, of Holme in the pariſh of Burnley[c]; where he was initiated in grammar

[a] Ath. Oxon. i. 313. F. 151.

[b] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 117.

[c] Life by Aſsheton, ut ſupra, p. 5. n. The greater perpetual curacies are often called Pariſhes, and ſo Burnley (itſelf a member of the pariſh of Whalley) is called to this day; as it is here by the writer of the life of Whitaker, and by Nowell himſelf in the reverſionary grant of the Hart's Horn inn, to "William Whittacre of the Holme in the pariſhe of Burneley—and now ſtudent in thuniuerſitye of Cambridge." See below, note [f].

under Hartgrave[d], at that time maſter of Burnley ſchool, to whom, in his declining years, he was a kind benefactor. At the age of thirteen the Dean ſent for him to London, and maintained him in his own houſe, and at St. Paul's ſchool, of which the celebrated Cook, a ſchoolfellow of Lord Burghley, was then maſter. When he was eighteen he was admitted of Trinity college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Weſt[e]; the generous hand of Nowell contributing towards his maintenance in his ſtudies there, by certain leaſes, which he granted to him freely and without fine[f].

[d] "Mr. William Hargrave" was interred at Burnley in 1584, having reſigned the ſchool ſome years before, probably on account of age and infirmity. The old ſchool, in which Whitaker was educated, though converted into a dwelling houſe, is ſtill entire; and has the Towneley arms in front, having previouſly been the houſe of a chantry prieſt of St. Mary's altar, founded by that family. It is now about to be taken down to enlarge the churchyard. Dr. Whitaker, Dec. 8, 1808.

[e] Robert Weſt, D. D. born at Louth in Lincolnſhire, Rector of Snoring in Norfolk 30 years, and of Fakenham, in the ſame county, *33* years (the latter in the gift of Trinity college, Cambridge) died June 24, A. D. 1610, æt. 74. as appears by his monument ſtill remaining in the church of Snoring. Dr. Whitaker, June 1, 1807. And ſee the epitaph in Blomefield's Norf. Parkin's Contin. v. 821.

[f] Indent. Aug. 5, 1566. for 60 years in reverſion, the exiſting leaſe to expire at Lady day, 1590. Reg. Nowell, i. 182. b.—

Having obtained a fellowſhip in his college, and growing daily in repute by his learning and talents, particularly in the Roman catholic controverſy, he was in 1579 made her Majeſty's Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge, on the promotion of Dr. Chaderton to the ſee of Cheſter[g]; and (on his death) was ſucceeded in the theological chair by the learned Dr. Overall, afterwards ſucceſſively biſhop of Lichfield and Norwich. The next year the Queen gave him the Chancellorſhip of St. Paul's[h], where alſo he ſucceeded, and was ſucceeded by, a biſhop; Watſon biſhop of Wincheſter being his predeceſſor in that ſtall, and his ſucceſſor

184. b. A houſe, &c. in Carter Lane, joining cloſe to the Dean's houſe was alſo "freely letten without fine by the Dean to a Scholar of Cambridge his kinſman towards his maintenance at his ſtudy." (This leaſe, I make no doubt, was to Whitaker.) "The ſaid ſcholar parted with the leaſe to one James Woolton, a kinſman of his, for 10l." Woolton to James Readfearne for 20l. Readfearne to James Farrington for a great ſum. Farrington pulled down a "mayne ſtone wall," incloſing the tenement, "part of the bounders of the churchyard of St. Paul's" &c. &c. Caſe incloſed in the letter to Mr. Egerton, Solicitor General. See above, p. 309. and App. No. xi.

g Fuller's Hiſt. Cambr. p. 124.

h Newcourt, i. p. 114. His letter of thanks to Lord Burghley in Latin for this promotion, is among the Burghley papers, dated Sept. 11, 1580. vol. xxx. No. 62.

Day, dean of Windſor, who alſo roſe to be biſhop of Wincheſter. His works and his worth gained him renown throughout Europe; ſo that cardinal Bellarmine, the champion of popery, though often foiled by his pen, honoured his picture with a place in his library; and ſaid, "He was the moſt learned heretic he had ever read [i]."

Deeply rooted in the principles of Calviniſm, he is yet to be commended for his candour in acknowledging, at the very time when the predeſtinarian diſpute ran high, that "theſe points were not concluded and defined by public authority—in our Church [k]." The controverſy however appears to have coſt him his life. For coming up to London with the five Lambeth Articles, as they were called, and purſuing that buſineſs warmly, but without ſucceſs, having paid what proved to be a farewell viſit, at the Deanery of St. Paul's [l], on his return to Cambridge, fatigued and diſappointed, he fell ſick; and

[i] Ath. Oxon. i. 354.

[k] Lett. to Archbiſhop Whitgift. Strype's Whitg. App. p. 199.

[l] See extract of a letter dated thence, Nov. 19, 1595, Strype's Whitg. p. 460. and the letter itſelf among Lord Burghley's papers, to whom it was ſent with a ſermon, which he had juſt before preached at Cambridge on the controverted points. Burghley MS. lxxx. No. 10.

within a fortnight, the ſoul was releaſed from his enfeebled body, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age.

Of the dignity of his perſon and eloquence of ſpeech (beſides innumerable alluſions in the verſes on his death) we have evidence in the pointed appeal of biſhop Hall, who knew him well, to his correſpondent Mr. Bedell, who alſo knew him well: "Who, ſays he, ever ſaw him without reverence? or heard him without wonder [m]?" Of his unwearied induſtry and profound learning his various works afford pregnant proof; and he is alſo commended for thoſe rare virtues in a Calviniſt, charity and humility. When he lay on his death-bed, and was told of the ſymptoms of approaching diſſolution, he ſaid, "Life or death is welcome to me; and I deſire not to live, but ſo far as I may be ſerviceable to God and his church [n]."

From the number of his ſepulchral eulogiſts the ode of Mr. Bedell, then a young man of Emmanuel college, afterwards the moſt exemplary biſhop of Kilmore, has been ſelected [o]; a ſpecimen, which if the incom-

[m] Hall's Epiſtles, Decade i. Ep. vii. To Mr. Bedell at Venice.

[n] Life in Chriſ. Morton's Monument of the Fathers and Reformers, 1706. 8vo. p. 52.

[o] Append. No. xii.

parable Biographer of the Engliſh Poets had ſeen, he would ſcarcely have pronounced all the Latin poetry of our countrymen contemptible, who wrote before May. Gataker, bachelor of arts of his own college, was another of his encomiaſts, and afterwards wrote his life; from which a few characteriſtic traits will give and receive illuſtration from the annexed portrait. He ſays, "He was a man very perſonable, of a goodly preſence, tall of ſtature, and upright; of a grave aſpect, with black hair, and a ruddy complexion; a ſolid judgement, a liberal mind, an affable diſpoſition; a mild yet no remiſs governour; a contemner of money; of a moderate diet; a life generally unblameable, and (that which added a luſtre to all the reſt) amidſt all theſe endowments, and the reſpects of others, even the greateſt, thereby deſervedly procured, of a moſt meek and lowly ſpirit[p]."

He was twice married, to "women of good birth and note," and had eight children by them. His ſurviving wife, deſcribed as "*partui vicina*," when he expired on the fourth of December, cauſed her child to be baptized on the eleventh of that month, the

[p] Life by Gataker, in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 401—408.



Wilhelmus Whitaker. S. T. P. R.

natus apud Holme *A. D. 1547*

denatus Cantabrigiæ *A. D. 1595.*

Published March 1. 1809 by Mess.rs Rivington

day after her huſband's funeral, by the name of Jabez, doubtleſs for the Scriptural reaſon, "Becauſe, ſhe ſaid, I bare him with ſorrow [q]." In behalf of the afflicted widow and orphans, Nowell wrote to Lord Burghley, to whom Whitaker had been chaplain [r], a moſt impreſſive letter; which it were injuſtice either to withhold from the reader, or to foreſtall his pleaſure by quoting in this place any part of it [s].

One of the orphans, probably of the firſt marriage, named after the Dean of St. Paul's, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, had competent proviſion as a clergyman, in the north of England; but quitted his preferment and native country to aſſiſt as a preacher of the goſpel in Virginia; and from his meritorious labours, in that infant province, obtained the title of the "Apoſtle of Virginia." He is mentioned with reſpect in Smith's Travels [t], in the year 1614; and was

[q] 1 Chron. iv. 9.

[r] So he ſubſcribes himſelf in a letter to Lord Burghley, Dec. 15, 1591. Burghley MS. lxviii. No. 35. and again, Nov. 19. 1595. ib. lxxx. No. 10. See the plate of fac-ſimiles below.

[s] Append. No. xiii.

[t] Account of Virginia, &c. by Captain John Smith, p. 117. 147.

himſelf the author of a tract intitled "News from Virginia," publiſhed the year before. It contains, I am informed [u], a good zoological ſketch of the country; and in ſpeaking of the various kinds of fiſh in thoſe rivers, it appears, that he had caught the propenſity of his father [x] and great uncle for the amuſement of angling.

Richard Whitaker, brother of Alexander (as the time, the family name, Richard [y], his piety and erudition all concur to prove) did not croſs the Atlantic, but was in his own country an encourager of learning and learned men, and editor of their works; himſelf a learned bookſeller and printer in the metropolis; as a Greek Teſtament dedicated by him, in his own name and in claſſical Latin, to Charles I. Harmar's Scapula, dedicated by him to archbiſhop Laud, and other circumſtances evince [z]. But whether the "learned

[u] By Dr. Whitaker from the tract itſelf, by Alex. Whitaker, Miniſter of Henrico in Virginia.

[x] "How dear a lover and great a practiſer of it [angling] our learned Dr. Whitaker was." Walton's Compl. Angler, p. 40.

[y] The Profeſſor's grandfather and elder brother and others of the family were named Richard.

[z] The date of his Gr. Teſtament, a large duodecimo, is 1633; his Scapula, 1637. Gerard Langbaine, writing from Oxford to Mr. Selden, Oct. 30, 1648. mentions a "controverſie betwixt

Mr. Laurence Whitaker, that elegant linguiſt and worthy traveler, ſecretary (in 1611) to Sir Edward Philips, Maſter of the Rolls [a]," who animated that extraordinary genius, Coryat, to publiſh his Crudities, and compliments the author in various verſes, Greek, Latin, French, and Engliſh, was, as is moſt probable, of the ſame family, named after his great uncle, Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, has not, with any certainty, been made out.

For ſome of theſe particulars reſpecting the family of Whitaker, as well as for the portrait of the Profeſſor himſelf (copied from an original in his poſſeſſion) and for much valuable aſſiſtance in various parts of theſe

my lord of Cherbury's younger ſon and Mr. Whitaker, the ſtationer, about the right of imprinting my Lord's Hiſtory of Henry VIII." which "was referred by the Lords to the Lord North to determine"—and that "Mr. Whitaker has ſince imployed his ſon in law Mr. Bowman, a ſtationer of this towne, to procure ſome collation or tranſcript from the moſt corrected copy, left by my Lord Cherbury in his life time to the univerſity library, where it now remains." Lel. Coll. by Hearne, vol. v. p. 285.

[a] Coryat in his Ep. Dedicatory. My very worthy friend, the Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Cheſter, has a copy of this book, ſuperbly bound in red velvet, and gilt, the letters "H. P." emboſſed and gilt on the cover, bearing alſo the creſt of the Prince of Wales, being the copy which was preſented to Henry Prince of Wales, to whom the book is dedicated.

memoirs, I have great pleaſure in acknowledging myſelf indebted to the friendſhip and correſpondence of the very learned and intereſting Hiſtorian of Whalley and Craven, the Reverend Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL. D. the preſent proprietor of Holme; a ſpot, as appears in the view [b], contributed by another worthy relative of Dean Nowell, bold and romantic, and ſtill, as in days of yore, to "wit" and genius "native or hoſpitable."

[b] Of the houſe as exhibited in the engraving, the centre and the wing to the right, as you face it, were rebuilt, exactly on the old ſite and foundations, in 1613, by Thomas Whitaker, the Profeſſor's nephew. The old building was of wood, and the preciſe apartment, to which the conſtant tradition of the family aſſigns the birth of the Profeſſor, was the ground room on your right hand, now the drawing room. And this tradition conſiſts of very few links; as will eaſily be believed, when it is told, that Elizabeth Nowell (the Dean's ſiſter) and Anne Bancroft, wife of her now named grandſon, Thomas Whitaker, lived in this houſe as Wives and Widows from 1530 to 1644, or 114 years! The left wing was rebuilt in 1717, by the great grandfather of the preſent Poſſeſſor, from whoſe Letter of Dec. 6, 1808, theſe minutes are chiefly extracted.



Engraved by Js. Basire.

To RICHARD NOWELL, ESQRE. of Essex Street, London,
this View of HOLME, the seat of his worthy friend and kinsman, the Revd. T. D. Whitaker, L.L.D.
the birth place of William Whitaker, D.D. the celebrated Professor of Cambridge,
is gratefully inscribed by his sincere humble Servant R. Churton.

Published for Messrs. Rivington, Febry. 13th. 1809.

SECTION XI.

FROM Whitaker, the pride and ornament of Cambridge, who was alſo incorporated at Oxford [c], we paſs to an eminent benefactreſs of both univerſities, Joyce Frankland, widow, daughter of Robert Trapps, citizen of London and goldſmith; who beſtowed ample donations on two colleges in the univerſity of Cambridge, and on the like number at Oxford. To Emmanuel college, then recently founded, ſhe ordered eſtates to be conveyed, to the value of twenty pounds a year, to be diſpoſed of at the diſcretion of Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder [d]; and at Caius college ſhe increaſed the four fellowſhips, which Mrs. Joan Trapps her mother had founded, and endowed ſix fellowſhips and twelve ſcholarſhips of her own. Her

[c] July 14, 1578. Ath. Ox. i. F. 117.

[d] Nowell is reckoned among the Benefactors of Emmanuel college (Fuller's Hiſt. Camb. p. 148.) probably on account of ſome particular (though now unknown) donation, accompanying this benefaction of Mrs. Frankland.

mother had appointed by her will, that certain lands in Kent ſhould be ſecured to Lincoln college, for the purpoſe of ſuſtaining four exhibitioners or ſcholars. Theſe Mrs. Frankland augmented, but with an expreſs proviſo, that Sir Roger Manwood, one of her mother's executors, who had ſhewn great cruelty and injuſtice in ſettling the benefaction at Caius college, ſhould not have the nomination or appointment of the ſcholars [e].

It is with no pleaſing emotions we hear of ſuch a charge of mal-adminiſtration, in a confidential truſt and a matter of charity, coupled with the name of a Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer (for ſuch Sir Roger Manwood was for many years;) but many ſimilar complaints, from various quarters and for a length of time, leave little room to

[e] Wood's Colleges, p. 240. When Parker and others, commiſſioners of Henry VIII. viſited the univerſity of Cambridge in 1546, the report from Caius college was, that there ſhould be four ſcholars more of the foundation of Mrs. Trappes, but that Mr. Manwood, one of her executors, hath kept the money (900l.) ever ſince her death, eight years complete; "and no lands will he lett us have, excepte we would take ſuch barren racked pilled and leaſyd land of his owne as he lyſt to geve us, upon the burned downes in Kent." MS. Parker, cviii. p. 559. He had 116l. in his hands, part of the money of Mr. and Mrs. Trapps, when Mrs. Frankland made her will in 1586–7. And ſee Burghley MS. li. No. 57.



Quam speciosa vestigia
Evangelizantium pacem.
Exul quæ amisit primæuo flore Nowellus,
Fœnore centeno repperit aucta redux.
Dat Christus reddit danti longævus honores,
Reddenti æternos gratia dantis habet.
Præco, Auctor, condus, Christo, colit, ampliat, ornat,
Voce, libris, opibus, Sabbatha, Templa, Scholas;
Dans, meditans, orans, Christi expirauit in vlnis.
Sic oritur, floret, demoritur̃q; Deo.

Sedit B.R.P. & Ecclsię, P.M. 42 Nonagenarius cum
Nec animi nec corporis oculi caligarent
Obiit Anno. Dom. 1601. Feb. 13.

Alexandro Nowello, Lancastrensi, prisca Nowellorum gente oriundo, Theologię Doctori, ædis S. Pauli Decano, ad exemplum hospitali, Rob. Nowelli, cujus hic tum suis miscentur cineres, fratri, & opum quæ sibi jure Testamentario cesserunt, diribitori pientissimo. Mariamis temporib. propter Christū exulanti: Reducum inerę Religionis, contra Anglo-papistas duobus libris asserтori, primæ & vltimæ Quadragesimalis Concionis per annos xxx P. M. continuos ad S. Elizabetham, summa libertate Præconi, Scholę Midletonianæ patrono: Collegii Ænei nasi Oxonii, ubi ab anno ætatis. xiii annos xiii. studuit xiii. studiosis et CC libris annuis opera & impensis suis ampliati, Præsidi: Scholæ Paulinæ plurimorum Bonorum auctori: pietatis frequentissimis Concionib. & triplici Catechismo propagatori: qui publicū in se utriusq; Academiæ & Ecclesiarum exterarum testimonium, atq; æternorum Principum Edwardi VI & Elizabethæ judicium procerumq; prouocauit: Pauperum literatorum præcipue nutritori; Afflictorum morbis corporis vel animi consolatori: Hoc Sepulchrum, ob munificentiam & merita erga Remp. et optimum statum Ecclesiæ suæ ab eo peruigili administratę redditum. Exec. O. D. S. M. posuit.

James Basire Sc.

Viro admodum Reverendo, Gulielmo Cleaver, S.T.P. Episcopo Asaphensi, et Collegii Ænei Nasi Principali, Reverendisque ejusdem Collegii Socüs, tabulam hanc, Alexandri Nouelli, olim ejusdem Collegii Principalis, interque præcipuos ejus Benefactores semper numerandi, Monumentum ante oculos sistentem, summa animi observantia, gratitudinis ergo, D.D.D. R. Churton.

Published for Mess^rs. Rivington, Feb^y 13^th. 1809.

doubt, that there was much to complain of[f]. As he liberally endowed and patronized a free ſchool[g] in his native town of Sandwich in Kent, in middle life, having a family of his own, we willingly hope, that better principles were not always unattended with anſwerable practice; and that, when, after ineffectual attempts to juſtify or excuſe his conduct, he acknowledged his faults, near the cloſe of a long life, before the Privy Council, his conviction was as ſincere, as his expreſſions were emphatic: but certainly the *memento*, compoſed firſt I believe by the famous William Lily for the monument of

[f] Among the Burghley papers are numerous letters and notes of the hard words and ſevere dealings of Sir Roger Manwood. See vol. xxiv. No. 39. xxvi. 7. xxxi. 55—59. lxxi. 1. 3. 4. 8. Lord Burghley's note of his abuſes, civ. 32. His attempts to excuſe and juſtify his conduct, xxxiii. 81. 87. lxxi. 5. A very penitent letter from him to Lord Burghley, May 12, 1592. lxxi. 6. His recantation and ſubmiſſion before the Lords of the Council, two days afterwards, ib. No. 7. A clauſe of his will concerning his ſon Peter, cix. 97.

[g] He endowed it with lands of the value of 20l. a year, and obtained 10l. a year to be added by his brother, Thomas Manwood, Mayor of Sandwich, and 8l. by Thomſon, one of the Jurats. The archbiſhop forwarded the buſineſs in 1563, and wrote to the Secretary to procure the Queen's Licence. Burghley MS. vi. No. 71. But it ſeems not to have been finally incorporated by patent till 1586. Strype's Parker, p. 138.

dean Colet [h], and often, from its juſtneſs, adopted by others, has ſeldom been applied, where the leſſon it contains was more ſtrongly enforced, by the character of the deceaſed, than when it was inſcribed on the tomb of the Lord chief Baron Manwood:

"Diſce mori mundo, vivere diſce Deo [i]."

Mrs. Frankland gave in her life-time to Braſen Noſe college certain eſtates and rent-charges [k], and bequeathed by her will the further ſum of five hundred pounds, with a *proviſo*, that when the ſame was inveſted in lands, and aſſured to the college, it ſhould be employed for the benefit of the ſociety, in ſuch manner as Alexander Nowell and Thomas Smallman, Eſquire, of the Inner Temple,

[h] Knight's L. of Colet, p. 261. Dugd. St. Paul's, p. 64.

[i] See the whole epitaph on his monument at Hackington, near Canterbury, in Antiq. Repert. vol. v. p. 19. He died Dec. 14, 1592. The identical line may be ſeen on a grave-ſtone at Welford in Northamptonſhire, at Middleton Cheney, &c. Walter Haddon prefixed to his "Poemata," Lond. 1567. of which the verſion of our Lord's ſermon on the mount is the firſt, an addreſs "Pio Lectori," which begins thus:

Quiſquis es, has Domini leges qui ſcire laboras,
Diſce mori mundo, vivere diſce Deo."

[k] Abſtr. of Compoſitions relating to Braſen Noſe College, 1772. p. iv.

ſhould direct. Mr. Smallman did not live to execute the deſigns of this "greate and worthie Benefactrix [1];" and therefore Nowell, who ſurvived, declared the purpoſes of the benefaction confided to his care, which were ſecured by an indenture between the Principal and Scholars of Braſen Noſe college, as Governours of queen Elizabeth's free ſchool in Middleton, and the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's: by which inſtrument it is covenanted and agreed, among other things, that an annual commemoration of Mrs. Frankland ſhall be kept on the fifth of September; that there ſhall be four ſcholarſhips, endowed with a certain allowance, and one fellowſhip, to be called Mrs. Frankland's Fellowſhip, in the election to which her kindred, and eſpecially the Trapps and the Saxies, ſhall be preferred.

Our anceſtors were content rather to do

[1] Indent. 26 June, 40 Eliz. (1598) Reg. Nowell iii. f. 149. Mr. Smaleman, Smalman, or Smallman, "unus executorum lectiſſimæ fœminæ Jocoſæ Frankland," paid into the hands of the college 100l. in 1592. Plate Book, p. 17. 19. and Thomas Coventree, one of his executors, other ſums on the ſame account in 1595. ib. p. 22. Mrs. Frankland left him 20l. and "her jewel of the ſtory of Paris, being her beſt jewel." Part of her will reſpecting Caius College, and the School at Newport, Eſſex, printed 1804. p. 19.

things worthy of memory, than to record the hiſtory of the perſons that did them. Of this liberal benefactreſs to both our univerſities little is known in either, beyond what is neceſſarily contained in the detail of her munificence. She was twice married. By her firſt huſband, Henry Saxy, ſhe had a ſon named William [m], who died before her, without iſſue. Of her ſecond huſband, Frankland, nothing is known; nor have any of her kindred ever appeared to claim the preference, which was kindly ſecured to them in the terms of the donation; though her brother, Robert Trapps, had a numerous family of ſons, to each of whom by name ſhe bequeathed a legacy of twenty pounds, and to her couſin and godſon, Saxy Pretty, a jewel with a ſapphire, a green ſtone, and a ruby.

[m] William Saxey was prebendary of Willeſdon in 1560 (Reg. Nowell, i. 53. b.) and Treaſurer of St. Paul's, both which became void by his death about July, 1567. But as he was collated to his prebend, Aug. 20, 1553, and, as Newcourt thinks (vol. i. 107.) was Vicar of St. Bride's, Aug. 11, 1530, by the name of William Saxim, LL. B. he probably was not Mrs. Frankland's ſon, but William Saxie "one of the Maſters of Windſo" (whatever place or office is meant) "and parſon of Swainſcomb in Kent," whoſe will is in Prerog. Office, Stonard 20, dated 30 Jan. 1566, proved 26 June, 1567, with legacies to his brothers &c. of his own name.

She lived at the Rye houſe, in the pariſh of Stanſted Abbots, Herts,—as yet unconſcious of plots againſt kings; and had alſo a "great houſe," for her London reſidence, in Philip Lane, Aldermanbury, which ſhe deviſed to Caius college. Her will, which is of great length, dated at the Rye houſe, February 20, 1586 [n], after emphatic expreſſions of religious truſt in God, and pious diſpoſal of her ſoul and body, to be buried at Stanſted, where her ſon William Saxy lay, if ſhe died there, and if in London, at St. Leonard's, Foſter Lane, where her father and mother lay, is occupied with numberleſs bequeſts to her relatives, and ſervants, to the poor, to all the London priſons, and to various other charities, public and private.

In addition to the particulars hitherto recited, it ſhould be mentioned, that, by this her laſt will and teſtament, ſhe inſtitutes a chaplain and founds a Hebrew lecture at Caius college; and likewiſe, "for the love ſhe bore to learning, and to have youth well brought up and inſtructed in the fear of God, learning, and good manners, whereby they may become good members in the

[n] Prerog. Off. Spencer xvii.

commonwealth," ſhe makes ample proviſion for endowing a free grammar School at Newport, near Saffron Walden, in Eſſex, to be ſubject to the government of that ſociety; but if her deſigns were not carried into effect within two years from her deceaſe, then the profits, ſo intended, to be employed in augmentation of the free ſchool at Beverley, in Yorkſhire, to be ſimilarly ſubject to the inſpection and controul of Braſen Noſe college. The primary intention of the pious teſtatrix, towards a place, with which ſhe ſeems to have had no other connection, but that Jeffery Nightingale, Eſquire, of Gray's Inn, informed her it was "a great and poor town," and a ſchool in it much wanted, was duly performed; and the ſchool at Newport, though it ſeldom in theſe days produces candidates for the ſcholarſhips of Caius College, as the foundreſs deſigned it ſhould, ſubſiſts and flouriſhes as a very uſeful parochial ſeminary, under the regulations of a decree of Chancery [o], made in the year

[o] Subjoined to the extract of her Will above mentioned. On a braſs over the porch, in front of the ſchool, is inſcribed, "The ffre Grammer Schole of Newport founded Anno Domini 1588 by Miſtris Joiſe ffrankland widow daughter of Robert Trappes of London Goldſmithe deceaſed and by William Saxie her ſonne:"

1743, in conſequence of neglect and abuſe of the original truſt. The maſter's ſalary is very little leſs than one hundred and fifty pounds a year, ariſing from the ſole generoſity of Mrs. Frankland.

She conſtituted Sir Walter Mildmay and Alexander Nowell overſeers of her will, bequeathing to the former her beſt baſon and ewer of ſilver, and to Nowell, at once "for his pains therein, and in conſideration that he ſhall make a ſermon at her burial," the ſum of ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence. Her executors, who have each of them a legacy of twenty pounds, adminiſtered to her will, Thomas Smallman by his proxy, and Thomas Legg, Maſter of Caius college, and Henry Burr of London, gentleman, in perſon, on the firſt of April, 1587.

Her fellowſhips at Caius college are regarded as By-fellowſhips; and thoſe who enjoy them have no neceſſary ſhare in the diſcipline of the houſe, or in the emoluments of the original foundation. But in Braſen Noſe college, by the liberal encou-

as I learn from my worthy friend, Henry Hodgkinſon, M. A. of Braſen Noſe college, Rector of Arborfield, Berks, and of Shadingfield, Suffolk, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke.

ragement held out in the ſtatutes, Mrs. Frankland's fellowſhip was incorporated as an integral part of the ſociety; in conſequence of which he who records this had the happineſs of ſpending fifteen years, "*grande mortalis ævi ſpatium*[p]," as the hiſtorian deems it, within the walls of Braſen Noſe college, as Mrs. Frankland's fellow, and of being preſented by the Society, in 1792, to the Rectory of Middleton Cheney in Northamptonſhire.

Beſides this twentieth and laſt fellowſhip (for the college having obtained a proper complement, more have not been added) it ſhould be remembered of "the right worſhipfull Mrs. Joice ffrankland," that ſhe, in her own name and that of her ſon, William Saxye, bequeathed ſome curious and very valuable articles of plate to the ſociety of Braſen Noſe; the greater part of which was ſtolen, not many years afterwards, "by breaking up of our treaſure houſe[q]," as the

[p] Tacitus in Vit. Agricolæ.

[q] Plate Book, p. 20. "Inprimis a neſt of gilt gobletts with one cover to the ſame waighing 73 oz. 3 qters. at 5s. 2d. the oz. It. one Baſen with a roſe in the bottome and gilt chaſen about the edges waighing 51 oz. at 5s. 1d." The whole amounted to 247 oz. and $\frac{3}{4}$. ib. p. 21.

regiſter notes, without further ſpecification of the circumſtances of the robbery.

The college entertained ſo juſt a ſenſe of the kindneſs of this their generous benefactreſs, that her name, with that of Alexander Nowell, is repeated in the common grace after meat in the hall; and, in gratitude to her memory, they alſo erected a monument over her grave in St. Leonard's church, Foſter Lane; which was demoliſhed, as Wood conceives [r], in the great fire of London, in 1666.

In the hall of Caius college are portraits of Mr. Trapps and his lady, ſaid to be by Holbein; and there is alſo a painting of their daughter Mrs. Frankland, with a watch in her hands, her arms and motto, "*Suffer and ſerve*;" an exact duplicate but of inferior merit to that in the hall of Braſen Noſe college, which has been engraved for this work by the favour of the Society. Of the hiſtory of watches, and of the particular ſort (a hunting watch, I am told) which ſhe holds in her hands, I muſt confeſs myſelf ignorant; as alſo whether any hint or alluſion were intended by it, other than that we ſhould ſeize

[r] Colleges, p. 358.

the moments as they paſs; but this may be noted of theſe ingenious pieces of mechaniſm, that they ſeem to have been leſs common and leſs underſtood in the days of our anceſtors. For when the Earl of Shrewſbury, in 1611, ſent a ſtriking watch to Sir Michael Hicks, ſecretary to the Earl of Saliſbury (as he had before been to his father, Lord Burghley) which he deſired him to preſent to that great ſtateſman, he thought it neceſſary to accompany it with directions how it was to be managed [s].

Mrs. Frankland's benefactions had not long been finally arranged and concluded, when buſineſs of a kindred nature, but far leſs magnitude, engaged the Dean's attention: which was to ſecond the recommendation of ſeveral learned men and pious divines in behalf of Hilkiah Crooke, who was candidate for the free ſchool in the town of Colcheſter. "The commendacion" however "of ſoe manie wiſe and worthie men," as he ſpeaks, "unacquainted himſelf with the yonge learned man," was not ſufficient to carry the election, againſt what were deemed ſuperior qua-

[s] See the Letter in the Burghley Papers, vol. xcii. No. 80. And of early watches, ſee the Gentleman's Magazine for 1771. p. 178.



Mrs. JOYCE FRANKLAND,

Widow, Ob. A.D. 1587.

Publishid 13 Febr. 1809 by Mess.rs Rivington

lifications. For, on examination of the candidates, William Kempe, M. A. was beſt approved, and choſen accordingly, on the death or ceſſion of William Bentley, educated at the free ſchool in Shrewſbury [t].

As we approach the termination of the century, we may obſerve, though the point is not immediately connected with Nowell, that the ſame perplexity, as to the true mode of reckoning years and ages, appears to have embaraſſed our anceſtors, which puzzled their deſcendants two centuries afterwards. And if Engliſh good ſenſe, as I think the fact was, determined in the former as in the later period, that we date the year as ſoon as it commences, and continue it while the twelve months are paſſing over us; it ſeems, by a treatiſe written expreſsly on the ſubject and publiſhed at Edinburgh, as if our brethren on the north ſide of the Tweed were an entire twelvemonth wide of the truth; and when they wrote 1599, fancied they were in the 1600th year of our Lord. But having only

[t] Morant's Colcheſter, p. 176. In the article Nowell, written by Morant in Biogr. Brit. he gives Nowell's Letter from the original in his poſſeſſion, and remarks, that he "wrote a very neat and beautiful hand." The letter is dated 7 Dec. 1598. The writer therefore was at leaſt ninety years old.

ſeen the titles of the works I allude to, and not the books themſelves [u], I will not venture to pronounce deciſively, leſt I ſhould be, as many wiſer heads at the time and on the ſubject in queſtion were, dogmatically wrong [x].

In proportion as the period drew near, which muſt come to all, and which Nowell had long foreſeen and expected, he appears to have been doubly ſolicitous to provide for the ſubſiſtence and comfort of his friends and domeſtics. To his houſhold ſervant William Towneley he granted, in 1595, a leaſe of four tenements with four little garden plots in Whitechapel, to be held of him and his ſucceſſors, Deans of St. Paul's, for the term of forty years [y]; and to the ſame, in 1599, a ſimilar leaſe of a cloſe of five acres of land in Bethnal Green, for twenty one years [z]; finally, in November 1601, nine acres and a

[u] "A newe Treatiſe of the right reckoning of yeares and ages—and of the eſtate of the laſt decaying age thereof, *this* 1600 *yeare* of Chriſt (Erroniouſlie called a yeare of Jubilee)—Edinb. 1599. by Rob. Pont." Ames, p. 1512. Two Offices of Prayer, *this year* 1600; one for her Majeſty now upon entrance into *a new Century*; the other &c. Feb. 1600–1. Strype's Whitg. p. 544.

[x] See Gent. Mag. 1800. p. 64. 132–134. 381.

[y] Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 63. b.

[z] Ib. f. 42.

half of meadow in Hackney marſh [a]; in which leaſe one condition was, that he ſhould deliver annually "two loads of ſweet and good hay truſſe band," growing on the premiſes, at the Dean's ſtables in the pariſh of St. Gregory.

In the reign of Elizabeth, according to the practice of earlier days, gentlemen born were frequently found in the menial train, as well of the dignified clergy, as of the higher ranks of the laity; and there is little reaſon to queſtion, that this William Towneley, ſervant to the Dean of St. Paul's, and thus patroniſed by him, to whom alſo by will he bequeathed the ſum of twenty pounds, was a younger branch of the knightly family of Towneley in Lancaſhire, of which the then head was the Dean's uterine brother, of whom we have particularly ſpoken above [b]. And it is perhaps ſome confirmation of this conjecture, that the ſame William Towneley, in the character of "a literate perſon," was, in conjunction with Thomas Redman, gentleman (the ſame perhaps, whoſe autograph has been mentioned above [c]) a notary public, con-

[a] Ib. f. 242.

[b] See p. 283.

[c] P. 306. note.

ſtituted Regiſtrar of the Dean and chapter, for their joint lives [d]; and appointed, in 1601, bailiff of the Dean and chapter, for the liberties of London, Middleſex, and Surrey [e]; both which offices were places of truſt, uſually filled by gentlemen.

There is no doubt at all, that Edward Nowell of Edelmeton (now Edmonton) gentleman, was a kinſman, probably nephew, of the Dean; and having, by purchaſe I preſume, poſſeſſed himſelf of the leaſe of the valuable impropriate rectory of Edmonton, granted by the late priory of Walden in Eſſex to Giles Brugge (that is, Bridge) citizen and draper, the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's, now proprietors of the ſaid eſtate or parſonage, renewed to him the leaſe, upon ſurrender, April 29, 1601 [f]; of which eſtate the ſaid Edward Nowell and his family continued for many years the leſſees [g], reſiding at Edmonton, and, I apprehend, in the rectorial houſe.

His own godſon and nameſake, Alexander

[d] Feb. 23, 1588. Reg. Nowell, ii. f. 249. b.

[e] Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 237. b.—240.

[f] Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 220.

[g] It was granted to Edward Nowell in 1641; and to the family of Thorn in 1694. Lyſons' Environs of Lond. ii. 267.

Wolton, ſon perhaps of the biſhop of Exeter, and if ſo, his great nephew, was the laſt, to whom we find his kindneſs in this way extended, by a leaſe of the valuable manor of Biggins in Eſſex, dated November 24, 1601, which was confirmed by the Chapter, 23 of January following [h].

His will, written and ſubſcribed with his own hand [i], full ten years before his death,

[h] Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 244. b. 245. b. It had been granted in 1583 (Reg. ii. f. 130. b.) for 21 years to James Wolton, ſervant to the Dean; who therefore, I preſume, had ſurrendered in favour of Alexander, his kinſman probably. The new leaſe, 1601, was to Alexander Wolton and Richard Etherington of Ebberſton, Com. York, Eſquire, but for the ſaid Alexander, who perhaps was a minor.

[i] Dated Jan. 8, 1590-1. Prerog. Off. Montagu xi. See App. xiv.

The neatneſs of Nowell's hand-writing having been univerſally obſerved, we take this opportunity, near the cloſe of his life, to lay before the Reader, in the adjoining plate, *fac-ſimiles* of his writing and ſome of his friends.

1. "John Towneley," the Dean's uterine brother (ſee p. 283, &c.) from the marriage articles of Thomas Whitaker (nephew of Profeſſor Whitaker. See p. 334. n) and Anne Bancroft, to which he was a witneſs, 34 Eliz. (1591, or 1592.) The original deed is in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Whitaker.

2. Biſhop Jewell, from a letter to archbiſhop Parker. MS. Parker, cxiv. p. 457. See above, p. 126. and 46.

3. Alexander Nowell, from his letter to Lord Burghley, in behalf of Profeſſor Whitaker's widow and orphans. MS. Burghley lxxx. No. 61. See above, p. 331. and Append. No. xiii. The

overflows, like his life, with piety and charity. Firſt of all he "betakes and gives himſelf wholly, both body and ſoul, into the hands of Almighty God, truſting by his only mercies in Chriſt Jeſus his dear Son my Saviour to have remiſſion and pardon of all his ſins, and to enjoy life everlaſting." He expreſſes a decent, not anxious, or ſuperſtitious, care reſpecting his funeral, to be buried "in the church or church yard in the place or pariſh, where it ſhould pleaſe God to appoint him to die." He orders gowns for his brethren the reſidentiaries,

venerable Dean could not be ſo little as eighty eight, when he wrote thus ſteadily and well. The cipher or device, I preſume, is to be interpreted, "Anchorâ Chriſto," a maxim proper to be adopted by every believer in Chriſt, which probably, in the Dean's uſe of it, carried an alluſion alſo to his favourite recreation as a fiſherman. It is copied from the ſeal of his letter to Cecil, when he was printing his Confutation, as mentioned, p. 125. Burghley MS. ix. No. 42. Thomas Nowell, M. D. lately deceaſed (ſee Gent. Mag. 1807. p. 889. b.) had a very antique braſs ſignet of the family; but what the ſubject or impreſſion was, I am not informed.

4. Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, from his Latin letter to Sir W. Cecil. Burghley MS. vi. No. 54. See p. 39. and 237. He did not always uſe this Italic character, but wrote a neat curſive or running hand.

5. Profeſſor Whitaker to Lord Burghley, from MS. Burghley lxxx. No. 10. about a fortnight before his death; probably the laſt letter he ever wrote. See p. 328, 331.

[illegible]

To Graces most
3 Maij 1568. humble
to. Sar

12° Januarij 1595

To ye honorable Lord Hippo



Humble at Commandement,
Alexander Nowell.

Famulus tuus, tibi multis
nominibus devinctissimus.

Laurentius Nowellus.

I desire not to have more wch,
but more at libertie,
Frō the Dean of Pauls house in London.

Novemb. 19. 1595. Yor Honors in Xto His Chaplain
Willm Whitaker.

Longmate sc. St. Margaret Str.t Cavendish Sq.re

attending his funeral, and for him that ſhould preach his funeral ſermon, with gratuities to the prebendaries and petty canons, and to all the officers and members of the cathedral; and fifty gowns to fifty poor men, of any colour except black, as that is leaſt durable: twenty pounds to repair St. Paul's, ten pounds to Chriſt's Hoſpital, thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence to the poor of Hadham, and legacies to all his ſervants. In regard to the children of his "former Wife," whoever they were (which we have in vain endeavoured to diſcover) and his own poor kinſmen, having in his life time, for his ability, dealt friendly and liberally with them, ſpecially ſuch as gave themſelves to learning, he truſts they will not look for any legacies, now that, by ſundry late great charges, and by the reſignation of the parſonage of Hadham, he is much impoveriſhed.

Still, however, friendſhip has claims, even in poverty and in death. He therefore bequeaths to his good friend Thomas Bowyer of the Middle Temple, Eſquire, ſon perhaps of Francis Bowyer, who aſſiſted his eſcape [k]

[k] See above, p. 20. It is no confirmation perhaps of the conjecture reſpecting Thomas Bowyer, yet proper to mention, that

into Germany, five pounds, to make him a ring for a poor remembrance of him, and ten of his books at his own choice, if not expreſsly by name given otherwiſe. To the library of Braſen Noſe college he gives the Centuries of Magdeburg, Henry Stephens's Greek Lexicon in three volumes, ſtrongly bound and armed, and all the Hiſtory of Martyrs, written by Mr. John Fox, in two volumes, of the beſt paper and fair bound. To his couſin Dr. Whitaker of Cambridge he gives twenty books of his chooſing; and for the painful and faithful ſervice, which Elizabeth Nowell his wife had for many years, in his extreme age and great and many ſickneſſes and continual weakneſs, done unto him, and for that he had ſpent of her goods and rents more than all that he had was worth, he gives unto her, in token of the love that he had continually borne

Fuller dedicates a portion of his Church Hiſtory (B. viii. Sect. ii. p. 16.) to Mr. Thomas Bowyer of the Old Jury, merchant; whoſe "grandfather, Francis Bowyer, brought no fewel to thoſe flames [in Mary's days] but endeavoured to quench them. The Church is indebted to him for ſaving Rev. Dr. Alexander Nowell—and ſending him ſafe beyond the ſeas. Thus he laid a good foundation, to which I impute the firm ſtanding of your family, it being rare to ſee (as in your's) the third generation in London living in the ſame habitation."

and did bear unto her, all the reſt of his goods whatſoever, and makes her ſole executrix of this his laſt will and teſtament.

Among the witneſſes to the will were archdeacon Mullins, and Thomas White, the founder of Sion college, Reſidentiaries; William Coton or Cotton, alſo a Reſidentiary, afterwards biſhop of Exeter, and Lancelot Andrews, Reſidentiary, Maſter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, afterwards the learned and excellent biſhop of Wincheſter[1].

The will was contained in a ſingle ſheet; but as law, if not eloquent, is at leaſt verboſe, the codicil, reſpecting John Deane, his great nephew and ward, covered ſeven ſheets of paper. The young man's father, William Deane, Eſquire, of Mapleſtead in Eſſex, having conſtituted Nowell one of his executors, with authority above the reſt to educate his ſon and heir, the widow, his mother, ſent him up to town appareled in

[1] Mullins was a Reſidentiary before Nov. 17, 1560. Reg. Nowell, i. f. 53. b. Cotton before Jan. 8, 1577–8, as ſeems by Newcourt, i. 211. 406. 605. White was Reſidentiary before 14 May, 1595. Reg. Nowell, iii. f. 59. and Andrews before June 12, 1594. Extr. from Reg. Whitg. ii. 247. in the Library of Mr. Gough. But I have not with certainty diſcovered, that the two laſt were Reſidentiaries, when they were ſubſcribing witneſſes to Nowell's will.

ſilks; which the good Dean was enforced, as he ſays, to continue, for fear of alienating his mind from him and from his books. He had pleaſed himſelf with great hopes of aſſiſtance in his brother guardian, Dr. Whitaker; but, he being deceaſed, he entruſts his ward to his executrix, Elizabeth Nowell, with direction, that if he behaved well, "no marriage ſhould be tendered to him, but ſuch as he ſhall well like of"—a favour, which, I fear, young men of faſhion in the preſent day would not think deſerving of immoderate thanks. But it ſhews one of the hardſhips, which were endured, with or without complaining, while the Court of Wards ſubſiſted; and while guardians, under it, poſſeſſed the right, not merely of refuſal, but of compulſory recommendation, in the contract, which is of all others the moſt important to the welfare of the parties, as well as to the intereſt and good order of ſociety at large.

After expreſſing this ſolicitude for his charge, devolved to his ſole care by the death of Dr. Whitaker, the good Dean ſurvived five or ſix years, and ſixteen or more from the time when his ward was firſt entruſted to him. He could not therefore be

far from man's eſtate, when the Dean's final illneſs came; and having, we may preſume, conceived good hopes of his prudent conduct, he, the day before his death, releaſed him from wardſhip, and left him entirely at his own free diſpoſal, being already, as it ſeems, a married man [m].

The Deanes, as we have ſaid above [n], were of Tanworth, in the county of Warwick, one of whom, William Deane, gentleman, married Matilda or Maude, ſiſter to Dean Nowell [o]. His ſecond ſon, of his own name, was ſervant to Lady Anne Maltravers, who married him and enriched him with her immenſe fortune, as ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield in Eſſex [p]. She had before him two huſbands: 1. Sir Hugh, ſecond ſon of Lord Chancellor Rich: and 2. Henry Fitz Alan, Lord Maltravers, celebrated by Aſcham, with the

[m] See below, note [z]. p. 361.

[n] P. 141.

[o] Pedigree of Nowell, MS. Williamſon, Queen's Coll. Oxford. F. 30. f. 16. as alſo one in the Heralds' College, entered while the name and virtues of the Dean were freſh in the recollection of his friends; where he is deſcribed as "vir prudentiſſ. et erudit. et omnibus virtutibus ornatus, Decanus eccleſ. Cath. Sancti Paulli London, nuper defunct." Dr. Whitaker.

[p] Morant's Eſſex, ii. 381.

young Duke of Suffolk, as "two noble primeroſes of Nobilitie, two ſuch examples to the court for learning, as might rather be wiſhed, than looked for again[q]." Lady Maltravers died in 1580, without iſſue by any of her huſbands, and is buried under a ſtately monument at Gosfield. Her ſurviving huſband, Deane, married to his ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Egerton, Eſquire, of Ryne Hill in Cheſhire, anceſtor of Thomas Egerton, the preſent Earl of Wilton, by whom he had John, Dean Nowell's ward, and two daughters. The father, William Deane, built a fine brick houſe, called Dynes Hall, at Mapleſtead, and planted a handſome avenue of elms, moſt of which were blown down in the great ſtorm of November, 1703; but ſo late as the year 1766, when Morant publiſhed his Hiſtory of Eſſex, part of the houſe was ſtanding, where Nowell uſed to ſpend part of the ſummer with the ſaid William Deane his nephew[r].

[q] Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, 1570, f. 20. b. Works by Bennet, p. 241.

[r] Morant's Eſſex, ii. 279. Mark Guyon, Eſq. bought Mapleſtead in 1667, and making Dynes Hall his reſidence, took down great part of the old houſe, which he rebuilt in a very handſome manner, but did not live to ſee it finiſhed. ibid.

As guardian of John Deane, in whoſe education he had been at great expence, Nowell was in the receipt of the intereſt of 2600l. lent upon bonds to different companies of merchants in London; of which income, amounting to the ſum of one hundred and thirty five pounds a year, it was his deſire that no part ſhould be applied to the emolument of his widow, but that the whole ſhould be beſtowed in deeds of charity; and, particularly, that one hundred pounds of it ſhould be ſent, half of it to Oxford, and half to Cambridge, to be diſtributed to "poor toward ſcholars," in each univerſity; of the former moiety forty five pounds to be given at the diſcretion of Dr. White, Dr. Singleton (principal of Braſen Noſe college) and Dr. Bound and Dr. Reynolds, the Heads of Lincoln and Corpus Chriſti colleges; but with the reſervation of four pounds to be annually delivered to Mr. Edward Clayton [s] of Braſen Noſe college: and forty five pounds of the other moiety at the diſcretion of Dr. Nevill, Maſter of Trinity, Dr. Andrews, Dr.

[s] Who this "Edward Clayton" was I have not diſcovered. No ſuch name occurs among the fellows of the college. Perhaps he was a ſon of "Mr. Claton the apothecary," whoſe "ſervant Claiton" has a legacy in the will of "forty ſhillings."

Tyndale, and Dr. Chaderton; with the like reſervation of four pounds annually for Alexander Whitaker, ſcholar of Trinity college, and as much for his brother, Samuel Whitaker, ſcholar of Eton college, the ſons, no doubt, of Dr. Whitaker deceaſed [t].

The deſtination of this revenue is one pregnant inſtance among many, which evince the good Dean's conſtant attention to the intereſts of literature and religion; and he probably employed the ſums thus accruing to him, as long as he lived, in theſe or ſimilar acts of beneficence. But as he gave up his ward, as already mentioned, before his death, his executrix was releaſed from this part of her charge; as ſhe was from others by a ſecond codicil, in which are ſpecific legacies to the maid ſervants, who by the will were remitted to her diſcretionary kindneſs.

This ſecond codicil, written after 1597 and probably but a ſhort time before his death, is entirely devoted to legacies friendly and charitable; of which the firſt is, "To his couſin Mr. Doctor Hammond and his wife five pounds, and to every one of their chil-

[t] Of Alexander Whitaker ſee above, p. 331.

dren twenty ſhillings." Who this Dr. Hammond, "couſin," that is nephew, to Nowell, might be, we have in vain endeavoured clearly to aſcertain. John Hammond, Doctor of civil law of Cambridge about 1569, was a Civilian of eminence, who often appears with credit in the reign of Elizabeth, and has already been mentioned in theſe papers [u]. As he was appointed Commiſſary to the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's in 1573 [x], and two years afterwards to the biſhop of London [y], it is not improbable there might be ſome tie of affinity or relationſhip between him and Nowell; but dying in 1589 [z], Nowell himſelf being one of the witneſſes to his will, he was certainly

[u] P. 263.

[x] Reg. Nowell, i. 444. b.

[y] Ib. 468.

[z] See above, p. 299. n. [h]. His will, dated 21 Dec. 32 Eliz. Prerog. Office, Drury 62. was proved Oct. 12, 1590. He appoints Agnes his wife ſole executrix, and his friends Sir Drue Drury, Sir William Bowes, &c. overſeers of his will. Nowell's kinſman and ward, John Deane, married Anne daughter of the ſaid Sir D. Drury, Aug, 27, 1600 (if there is no miſtake in the date) Morant's Eſſex, ii. 278. and a lineal deſcendant, as is ſuppoſed, of both his names, late a jeweller in the Strand, died Dec. 15, 1803. Gent. Mag. 1804. p. 86. b. Sir Drue was made Lieutenant of the Tower in Nov. 1594, in the room of Sir Michael Blunt diſcharged. Cotton MS. Titus, C. x. f. 96.

not a legatee under the Dean's own will, made many years afterwards. I ſuppoſe him to have married a ſiſter of the Dean, and by her to have been the father of a ſon of his own name, who was educated, as he was, at Cambridge, John Hammond, M. D. incorporated at Oxford while king James was entertained there in 1605[a]. This eminent phyſician was, I preſume, the Dr. Hammond recogniſed by Nowell as his "couſin," having ſeveral children, when the codicil of the Dean's will was penned in 1601. On the acceſſion of James I. he was appointed phyſician to prince Henry, from whom his youngeſt ſon Henry, the celebrated Commentator on the New Teſtament, born in 1605, "had the honour at the font to receive his Chriſtian name."

Here then, although a degree of uncertainty hangs over ſome parts of this account, we ſeem to have light enough to diſcover a miſtake in one of the beſt pieces of biography in our language. For biſhop Fell, in the Life of the truly learned and pious divine now mentioned, educated at Magdalen college, Oxford, where is an original portrait

[a] Ath. Oxon. i. F. 171.

of him in his doctor's robes, ſays, "By his *mother*'s ſide he was allied both unto learning, and the profeſſion of theology, being deſcended from Dr. Alexander Nowell, the Reverend Dean of St. Paul's, that great and happy inſtrument of the Reformation, and eminent light of the Engliſh Church [b]." It is very poſſible certainly, that Dr. Hammond, father of the commentator, might match with a kinſwoman of Dean Nowell; but one miſtake being indiſputable (for Nowell had no children) it is not improbable there may be another, and that inſtead of "*deſcended from* Dr. Alexander Nowell by his *mother*'s ſide," we ought to read "*akin* by his *father*'s ſide."

Similar uncertainty attaches to another legacy, the only one remaining, which it ſeems neceſſary here to notice; which is ten pounds "to his couſin Mr. Robert Pennington" (beſides the like ſum for his own uſe,

[b] Life of Hammond by biſhop Fell, ſecond edition; for the firſt had not the paſſage; and the Oxford editors, 1806, having been apprized of the miſtake, ſtruck it out. David Lloyd, in his Worthies, folio edition, p. 381. ſays, "Son he was to Dr. John Hammond, that exact critic, *granchild* by his mother's ſide to Dr. Alexander Nowell, that reverend Divine:" where "granchild," no doubt, ſhould be "great nephew," and the "mother's ſide," as we have ſaid, moſt probably "the father's ſide."

and four marks to his ſon Robert) " to redeem Mr. Thomas Nowell, couſin to the ſaid defunct, out of priſon." Thomas is a name of rare occurrence in the Nowell family. The Dean of Lichfield had a ſon Thomas, who was baptized April 5, 1573[c], and was probably the perſon here intended, who had, by ſome youthful extravagance, found his way to a priſon.

The pious Dean, having thus ſettled his worldly affairs, and " ſet his houſe in order," departed this life on the thirteenth of February, 1601-2, in the ninety fifth year of his age, almoſt forty years after he had begun to reckon himſelf an old man[d]. But notwithſtanding his very great age and frequent ſickneſſes, ſuch was the original ſtrength of his conſtitution, and ſuch the bleſſing of Providence on a life of piety, peace, and temperance, that neither his memory nor any of his faculties were impaired; and to the laſt, it is ſaid, he was able to read the ſmalleſt print without the help of glaſſes.

He was interred, the day unknown, in St. Mary's chapel, at the back of the high

[c] Reg. St. Mary's, Lichfield. By favour of S. P. Wolferſtan, Eſquire.

[d] See above, p. 90.

altar in St. Paul's, in the ſame grave, where, thirty three years before, he buried his beloved brother, Robert Nowell; an union in death, which he probably deſigned, when he cauſed his remains to be removed from Gray's Inn to St. Paul's; though afterwards, conſulting the eaſe of his ſurviving friends (affection alſo itſelf perhaps mellowing with time) he willed "his body to be buried and reſt in hope of reſurrection to life everlaſting" wherever "it ſhould pleaſe God to appoint him to die[e];" and that was where, during the ſpace of almoſt forty two years, he had been known and eſteemed as Dean of St. Paul's.

The epitaph on his monument, which the Society of Braſen Noſe college, anxious to do honour to their generous benefactor, have cauſed to be re-ingraved from Dugdale's plate, will illuſtrate and confirm many parts of theſe memoirs, as it contains an authentic epitome of his life; but it requires, in one or two points, ſome elucidation or correction; which the inſcription on his portrait (given below[f] for that purpoſe) will in part

[e] His Will, ut ſupra.

[f] Inſcribed in capitals on the picture of Dean Nowell in Braſen Noſe college, and on that which, as mentioned above, has been

ſupply. In comparing the copy of his portrait, prefixed to theſe pages, with the monu-

engraved for this work: "Alexander Nowellus ſacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor, S. Pauli Decanus, obiit 13 Febr. Anno Dom. 1601, R. R. Eliz. 44. An. Decanatus 42, ætatis ſuæ 95; cum neque oculi caligarent, neque aures obtuſiores, neque memoria infirmior, neque animi ullæ facultates vietæ eſſent. Piſcator hominum."

In the monumental inſcription, "Sedit B. R." &c. is, I preſume, to be read, "Sedit bono reipublicæ et eccleſiæ *annos* (omitted by the marble cutter, or by the engraver) plus minus 42. Nonagenarius—obiit." On which laſt expreſſion it has already been remarked, p. 9. that "anno—ætatis ſuæ 95," as it is on the picture, more probably gives his real age. "Reducum i." This ſeems to be at once the error and correction, and, as conjectured, p. 37. n. ought probably to have been, "Reduci." "Collegii Ænei Naſi—*Præſidi.*" Had the author of this epitaph been a member of Braſen Noſe college, he would rather have uſed the ſtatutable title, "Principali." "Ad ſereniſſimam Elizabetham." "Qui publicum" &c. If, as one would be tempted to think, ſome "public teſtimony of the two Univerſities" and of certain "foreign Churches" (conveyed, ſuppoſe, in letters of thanks for his Catechiſms or other works) is here alluded to, the particular facts have eſcaped our ſearch. "Edward VI." it is believed, expreſſed his ſenſe of his merits in the terms of the licence, which he was pleaſed to grant him to be a preacher, p. 11. and in the preſentation to a ſtall in Weſtminſter abbey, p. 18. and Queen "Elizabeth" in the various preferments, which ſhe beſtowed upon him, and particularly in the reverſionary grant of a canonry of Windſor, p. 364. and in the memorable licence of non-reſidence, p. 269. "Procerumque judicium:" for that, I apprehend, is the true order of the words, or if not, "judicium" is to be underſtood, as if it was repeated after "procerum;" though here again we are at a loſs for the particular act or inſtance of their approbation, unleſs we could rely on the truth of what ſome have

mental buſt, as here delineated, one thing will immediately ſtrike the attentive obſerver, that though the painter and the ſculptor have perhaps been equally ſucceſsful in throwing that air of ſerenity over their reſpective works, which diſtinguiſhed the meek and pious Dean, when living; yet in the features of the countenance there is little reſemblance, the hand of the painter having probably ſketched on canvas a more perfect repreſentation, than the other artiſt was able to achieve, when he attempted to draw "*vivos de marmore vultus.*" The original picture, which adorned the manſion at Read, when the family lived there, was then a whole length; but having ſince been ſhortened, as repreſented in the plate, it is an exact counterpart, with perhaps a younger countenance, of the fine picture of the Dean, which hangs in the hall of Braſen Noſe college, and was lately, with other ſcarce portraits, engraved by Harding of Pall Mall. The picture from Read, in good preſervation, is now the property of Dr. Sherſon of London, a deſcendant of the Nowells by

aſſerted, that the "Parliament—enjoined and truſted him to make a Catechiſm for public uſe." p. 81. "Executrix optime de ſe merito poſuit."

The headleſs trunk of the Dean from this monument has juſt been diſcovered in the vaults under St. Paul's (Jan. 31, 1809.)

the female ſide, by whoſe obliging permiſſion it has been accurately copied and engraved, at the expence of Alexander Nowell, Eſquire, late of Tirhoot in Bengal, now of Underley Hall, Weſtmoreland, in grateful remembrance of his illuſtrious kinſman and nameſake; of whom ſome miſtakes in the current accounts remain to be corrected.

Fuller ſpeaks of him with great truth, as "a man of moſt angelical life and deep learning [h]." And when he adds, that he was "a great honourer of the marriage of the clergy," he was equally well founded; but when he proceeds, "and yet who lived and died ſingle himſelf," he was ſo totally miſ-informed, that on the contrary it appears, as we have ſeen [i], from the Dean's own will, that he was married twice, and each time to a widow having children. Of his firſt wife nothing further is known, but that he was married, either to her or to his ſecond wife, in or before the year 1561 [k]. His ſurviving wife, Elizabeth Nowell, had been twice married before, and had children by both her

[h] Church Hiſt. B. x. Sect. x.

[i] See above, p. 353.

[k] See above, p. 69. 78.

former huſbands. Laurence Ball appears to have been her firſt huſband, and Thomas Blount her ſecond. By Ball ſhe had a ſon, named Henry, a citizen and haberdaſher, how prudent and proſperous I am not informed. Nowell and Edward Blount of the Middle Temple, gentleman, were bound for him, in 1598, in the ſum of 500l. to the Lord Keeper, Egerton, that he ſhould perform an order of the court of Chancery; but the condition of the bond was fulfilled, and the bail ſaved harmleſs [1]. Mrs. Nowell, in her will, ſays, her ſaid ſon Henry Ball, then deceaſed, had received of her in gifts, payment of debts, and other ways, to the amount of three thouſand pounds at leaſt; and therefore ſhe hopes, that his eldeſt ſon, Alexander Ball, will be content with a ſmall legacy.

The aforeſaid Edward Blount was one of her children by her ſecond huſband; and for theſe "poore orphans of Mr. Blounte," as he ſpeaks, Nowell was, in the year 1584, engaged in certain tedious ſuits of law; and very emphatically thanked Lord Burghley,

[1] Clauſ. 40 Eliz. p. 31. Rolls. The condition, whatever it might be, was performed to Richard Hickman, Mr. Ball's wife Margaret being bound with her huſband.

as before noted [m], on the proſpect of being delivered from them by his Lordſhip's authority and exertion, the orphans probably being under his protection as Maſter of the Court of Wards: the good Dean alſo, at the ſame time, moſt humbly offered, as he appears to have done before, to be ordered by his Lordſhip and "Mr. Vicechamberlane [n] hys honor in the frendly endynge of all thys controuerſie."

Mrs. Nowell ſpeaks with grateful affection of the aſſiſtance and comfort afforded her "in her old age," by this her ſon Edward Blount; and he gave one remarkable proof of filial reſpect towards her: for having been twice married, he named, after her, a daughter Elizabeth by his firſt wife, and another "Elizabeth by his now wife;" and they both have legacies in Mrs. Nowell's will. To the firſt Elizabeth ſhe gives her chain of gold and bracelets in her chamber at Writtle Marſh, and other things in her cheſt there, and the houſe itſelf. To the ſecond Elizabeth ſhe bequeathes a houſe at Lincoln, pur-

[m] P. 309.

[n] Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was Vice Chamberlain in 1579 (Strype's Ann. ii. 617.) and probably at this time. He was made Lord Chancellor in 1587.

chaſed for her by Sir Richard Etherington, knight, who was one of the witneſſes to her will.

"Her late reverend huſband had a good liking of her (ſaid) ſon Edward Blount, and deſired her to be kind to him, particularly as to the houſe in Little Wood ſtreet, wherein I now dwell." And therefore, "in the remembrance of ſo ſmall a requeſt by [her] ſo kind and loving huſband," ſhe leaves him the ſaid houſe; and in conſideration alſo of his conſtant and dutiful attention to her, and that he had "had ſmall preferment from her," ſhe gives him her eſtates in Kent, Somerſetſhire, Lincolnſhire, and London; and conſtitutes him ſole executor of her will.

She leaves legacies to "Nicholas Pearſon, parſon of Kidſton ° in Kent, and Joane his wife, my old ſervants;" and to all her men and maid ſervants; and, expreſſing pious reſignation and faith in her Redeemer, deſires to be buried at St. Laurence's church, London, near her late huſband Mr. Blount; "praying the Holy Spirit to be with her, that ſhe may have perfect memory to the

° Keſton, I preſume, is meant, which is a diſcharged Rectory in the gift of the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

laſt, and may ſay with the laſt breath, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.*" Her will is dated Dec. 6, 1610; was publiſhed, before many witneſſes, Feb. 13. (in memory, doubtleſs, of her deceaſed huſband) and proved by Edward Blount her executor, January 20, 1611-12 [p].

Humility and gratitude are among the ſureſt criterions of merit. We have ſeen the Dean of St. Paul's giving to Mrs. Nowell the entire reſidue of his eſtates, real and perſonal, not only "in token of the love that he bore unto her," but becauſe, as he accounted, "he had ſpent of her goods and rents more than all he had was worth [q]." Mrs. Nowell, in her turn, ſpeaking of her late "loving huſband," ſays it was by his "kind and loving aſſiſtance, beſides all other never to be forgotten comforts and goodneſs, that ſhe was enabled to do the good ſhe had done to her children [r]."

In a ſermon before the Queen, of which we have, I believe, no other memorial, the "very Reverend, grave, and worthy Dean of Pauls (who hath in many ways deſerved

[p] Prerog. Off. Fenner, vi.

[q] P. 354.

[r] Will, ut ſupra.

well of our whole Church) uſed the ſimile of a ſluttiſh houſewife, that having ſwept the houſe, yet left the duſt and dirt behind the doors." But this, which the Puritans laid hold of, and "miſapplied to the ceremonies" (ſays the learned Divine, who reports the ſtory, himſelf an immortal ornament and bulwark of the Univerſity of Oxford and of the Church of England) was "modeſtly and moderately urged" by the Dean, "not at all againſt the Ceremonies (which by his practice he did allow) but for the further reſtraint of popiſh prieſts and Jeſuites, who lay thick in Ireland, and the weſtern coaſts of England and Wales, as heaps of duſt and dirt behind the doors [s]."

Yet in removing this calumny we muſt be careful not to afford handle for another. He was no perſecutor. At the time when the wounds of Proteſtants, inflicted for the ſole alleged crime of their religion, were freſh and bleeding, though he obſerved, that forbearance and "clemency might well and ought now to be changed to juſtice;" and that "errors or hereſy, when opened abroad, and ſpecially if in any thing it touch the Queen's

[s] Biſhop Sanderſon's Sermons, vol. i. p. 18.

Majeſty, ought not, as well for God's quarrel as the realm's, to be unlooked unto;" he was careful to "explicate himſelf," by ſaying, "if any man keep his opinion will and mind cloſe within himſelf, then he ought not to be puniſhed [t]." And if, in ſaying this, he ſpoke, as no doubt he did, with the entire approbation of his auguſt audience, it is to be regretted, if, in a ſingle inſtance perhaps, practice fell ſhort of what theory approved [u]. Of his own moderation, when acting freely by himſelf, we have pleaſing evidence, when we ſee him at one time ſucceſsfully interceding for his brother Towneley [x], a Roman catholic, and at another for Udal [y], a Puritan.

[t] Sermon before the Queen and Parliament, Jan. 12, 1562-3. See above, p. 86.

[u] See above, p. 217.

[x] See p. 283.

[y] John Udal, Miniſter of Kingſton upon Thames, was tried and condemned at the aſſizes at Croydon in 1591, on 23 Eliz. c. 2. for defaming government in a pamphlet upon Diſcipline. Nowell and Dr. Andrews were ſent to confer with him. The Queen's clemency reſpited the ſentence. The Dean interceded for him with the archbiſhop, and by the archbiſhop's procurement, his pardon, if not actually ſigned, was on the point of being ſigned, when the poor man died in priſon. Strype's Whitg. 343. 377. Heylin's Hiſt. of Preſbyt. p. 363. Peirce's Vindic. of Diſſenters, p. 137. Dr. Zach. Grey's Vindic. of Ch. of Engl. in anſwer to Peirce, p. 90. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. ii. 622. And Strype's Ann. iii.

It is no wonder that the followers of Calvin have endeavoured to draw into their party a perſon of ſuch eminence in our Church, as the Prolocutor of the Convocation, in which the thirty nine Articles were compiled and agreed upon. I will not undertake to vindicate every paſſage, or expreſſion, in his Catechiſms or other works, which, torn from the context, may ſeem to favour their rigid notions. This is evident, that he ſtudiouſly avoids the abſolute, and, as Calvin himſelf calls it, "*horrible decree*," by which it is ſaid, that God, without any regard to faith and obedience, has elected ſome to life, and doomed others to perdition; and that Chriſt died, not for the whole world, but for the elect only. In contradiſtinction, or rather in contradiction, to theſe uncharitable and ſhocking tenets, he teaches expreſsly, that "God the Son hath redeemed "the whole race of mankind[z]:" he gives *Præſcientia* as an equivalent and purer term

471. 610. iv. 21—30. He had a ſon Ephraim, of very different principles, a London divine, who wrote in defence of Epiſcopacy, and was a great ſufferer for his loyalty in the Grand Rebellion. L. of Whitg. p. 345.

[z] Deum Filium, qui me, et univerſum genus humanum redemit. Smalleſt Catechiſm.

for *Prædeſtinatio* [a]; he ſays, that "thoſe who are ſteadfaſt, ſtable, and conſtant in faith, they are elected and appointed, and (as we term it) predeſtinated to happineſs [b]," (making election the conſequent, not the antecedent or cauſe, of belief and obedience;) and plainly ſuppoſes, with the Apoſtle, that "the weak brother may periſh, for whom Chriſt died [c]." By theſe clear points and landmarks therefore we ſhould ſteer in theſe waters, if we muſt venture upon them; for they are, aſſuredly, one of thoſe "depths, in which the elephant may ſwim," and which the line of man's intellect never can fathom.

In truth our Reformers did not learn divinity of John Calvin, but in a better ſchool. To the inſpired volume (ſo long locked up and neglected) and eſpecially to the New Teſtament, the end and conſummation of all God's counſels, their firſt and conſtant attention was given: they peruſed it ſo often, and with ſo much care, that they had the ſacred contents almoſt by heart [d]. Next to the di-

[a] Index to Larger Catechiſm.

[b] Larger Catechiſm, p. 96.

[c] See above, p. 130. and Rom. xiv. 15. 1 Cor. viii. 11.

[d] See p. 24. Latimer, when he was in priſon, read the New Teſtament over ſeven times, with great deliberation. Strype's Memor. iii. App. p. 92.

vine Book itſelf, and together with it, they were deeply converſant in the writings of thoſe, who were contemporary with the Apoſtles, and their immediate ſucceſſors, and thoſe that followed them; ſo that they could boldly aſſert, what they well knew could not be diſproved, that there was no authority for any of the diſcriminating doctrines of the Church of Rome, during the ſix firſt centuries[e]. Theſe were their ſtudies, and this their preparation for their arduous office. Clad with armour of proof from theſe inexhauſtible ſtorehouſes of truth, they were able to defeat and to repel their numerous aſſailants; to remove from the fortreſs of their faith thē periſhable materials, which rude and unſkilful hands had caſt about it; and to ſhew the fair fabric to the eye of day, founded on the rock of ages; her gates of gold, and her walls ſalvation.

Nowell was one of theſe holy builders, who, in repairing the breaches of our Sion, did not uſe "untempered mortar." Endowed with excellent parts, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the progreſs he made in the ſchools of Oxford; where he devoted thir-

[e] See p. 49. and 16.

teen years, the flower of his youth and beſt time for improvement, to the cultivation of claſſical elegance and uſeful knowledge. His capacity for teaching, tried firſt in the ſhade of the Univerſity, became more conſpicuous, when he was placed at the head of the firſt ſeminary in the metropolis; and, at the ſame time, his talents as a preacher were witneſſed and approved by ſome of the principal auditories of the realm [f]. Attainments ſuch as theſe, and a life that adorned them, rendered him a fit object for Bonner's hatred [g]; but Providence reſcued him from the fangs of the tiger, in the very act of ſpringing upon his prey.

"*Habuerunt virtutes ſpatium exemplorum.*" Retirement, ſuffering, and ſtudy, in the company of Jewell, Grindal, and Sandys, ſtimulated by the converſation and example of Peter Martyr, and other famed divines of Germany, returned him to his native land, with recruited vigour and increaſing luſtre, when the days of tyranny were overpaſt. Elizabeth and her ſage counſellor, Burghley, placed him at once in an eminent ſituation

[f] See p. 11. [g] P. 20.

among thoſe of ſecondary rank in the Church, and accumulated other preferments upon him; and would probably have advanced him to the epiſcopal bench, had not his real modeſty, together with the conſciouſneſs of approaching old age [h], been known to have created in him a fixt determination not to be raiſed to a ſtation of greater dignity; which however, all things conſidered, could ſcarcely, in his caſe, have been a ſphere of greater uſefulneſs. Near to his friend and patron, biſhop Grindal, near alſo to his other illuſtrious friend and patron, the excellently pious and prudent archbiſhop Parker, and not diſtant from the Court, he was an able coadjutor to each and to all, in bringing forward and perfecting, what they all had at heart, the reſtoration of true and pure religion [i].

[h] See p. 90.

[i] Dr. Whitaker having favoured me with a ſketch of Nowell's character, I here ſubjoin ſome extracts from it, which though not very ſhort, probably the Reader's only wiſh will be, that they had been more and longer.

"Of all men who have held any diſtinguiſhed ſtation in the Engliſh Church, our Dean of St. Paul's muſt have had the longeſt perſonal acquaintance with its hiſtory. No man could ever have detailed in converſation ſo many intereſting anecdotes of the Church and the State, at ſo great a diſtance of time. What had been told him by Cranmer, he could have related to Laud; what he had heard in his childhood from the partizans of the Houſe of

It is indeed impoſſible to view him, in the

Lancaſter, he could have recited to thoſe, who were to bear a part in the troubles under Charles I. And wide as the range of his recollection muſt have been, there were ſome who remembered him almoſt as long; Biſhop Morton, who ſurvived to the dawn of the Reſtoration; and the Counteſs of Pembroke, who having been much in the court of Elizabeth, muſt have heard him preach, lived to the year 1676. Theſe are links in the chain of traditionary evidence almoſt patriarchal.—

Of his domeſtic habits little is known. That his time was divided between ſtudy, devotion, and active beneficence, there can be little doubt. "Dans, meditans, orans[1]" will probably deſcribe, with ſufficient exactneſs, the tenor of his ordinary days.—

His perſon appears to have been ſlender and active; his conſtitution of that happy temperament, which contains in it no principle of decay, but that of age. His countenance was ſerene and benevolent; his eyes to the laſt vivid and piercing; his complexion delicate, his carriage upright, his beard ſilky, and white as ſnow[2]. Such in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century was the laſt of the Reformers.—

Like the ſurvivor of the Apoſtles, he had ſeen his firſt companions in the miniſtry lay down their lives for the truth; like him he was long ſpared to be the witneſs of their faith and patience; and like him he died in peace and ſafety.

In a word, he "had ſought after wiſdom;" and by ſuch examples, more than by a thouſand repetitions of the maxim, mankind may be taught, that "length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour."

[1] Inſcr. on his monument.

[2] My friend, contemplating a fine copy of Nowell's portrait in his poſſeſſion, ſeems to have conceived and expreſſed from it a juſt idea of the venerable Dean; which the engraving, though excellent, being mere light and ſhade, could, without this deſcription, but imperfectly convey.

department assigned him, without love and admiration. Meek, retired, and unobtrusive, he is ready at every call of duty; he is solicited from all quarters, and on all occasions. If a sermon on some great emergence is to be preached at the cross, at Court, or before Parliament, Nowell is the preacher. If the relentless hand of death has deprived the nation of one of its brightest ornaments, of either sex, an Ascham [k], a Sidney [l], or a Cecil [m], he is requested to console the surviving relatives in a funeral discourse, and to convert the common loss into a common example and benefit. When the beautiful and lofty spire of St. Paul's, by a stroke from heaven, is laid in ashes, the Dean is the person, who successfully exhorts the generous citizens to a speedy reparation of the sacred edifice [n]. When the proud Armada has been defeated, he is selected to announce in the house of God the unparalleled victory; and to prepare the public mind for public thanks [o]. If donations are solicited for the University in which he was not educated, at the hands

[k] P. 135.
[l] P. 300.
[m] P. 301.
[n] P. 62.
[o] P. 293.

of thoſe who are ever ready to give, the opulent merchants and inhabitants of the metropolis, their thoughts are immediately fixed upon Mr. Nowell, and he is deſired to be treaſurer of the bounty [p]. When contributions are requeſted for diſtreſſed Proteſtants abroad, thoſe of firſt rank and influence in the nation, wiſhing to forward the object of the petition, particularly deſire the aid and advice of Nowell [q].

His own art of angling ſuggeſts the true character of the man. Placid and contemplative, and ſtudious of peace, he loved to paſs the day on the margin of the river; and in his adopted motto, "*Piſcator hominum*," doubtleſs had an eye to thoſe ſons of peace, whom from this "irreprovable employment" the Saviour of the world called to be his diſciples; of whom it is obſerved, that they have the "priority of nomination in the catalogue of the Apoſtles [r]."

Whether it is true, as the honeſt and ingenious Walton, a man of kindred meekneſs and piety, obſerves, in his "Contemplative

[p] P. 299.

[q] P. 282. This was about 1582. Succour was again aſked, and again received, in 1590. Burghley MS. lxvi. No. 30. 33—37.

[r] Complete Angler, p. 38.

man's Recreation," that angling is like poetry, and a perſon muſt be born to it [s], I ſhall not inquire: Nowell certainly felt the propenſity early, and threw his youthful line in his native rivers, the Calder and the Ribble. Placed, in later life, at a diſtance (the frequent lot of clergymen) from theſe his juvenile haunts, his father long ago deceaſed, his mother, under the legatine diſpenſation of cardinal Wolſey [t], married again, and become the parent of another family; though he conſtantly correſponded with his friends in Lancaſhire [u], he ſeldom had leiſure perſonally

[s] Ibid. p. 22.

[t] In this memorable document (Append. No. xv.) Dr. Whitaker, who favoured me with it, ſays, "I have remarked (and it is curious enough) that there is an error in the degree of affinity ſubſiſting between the parties" (which is ſtated to be "the ſecond and third," inſtead of "third and fourth." See the Nowell Pedigree, App. No. I.) "But I ſuſpect, that as the fees were higher in proportion to the favour granted, the canoniſts repreſented the affinity as nearer than it was, and charged accordingly."

[u] His letters, carefully preſerved for two centuries, were with other family papers, on the death of the laſt owner of Read in 1772, left in a cheſt, in the cuſtody of an old and reſpected ſteward of the family; and the ſon and executor of that ſteward "diſtinctly remembers that he committed them all to the flames." We are conſoled, however, for this irreparable loſs, by one who "examined the family papers," and ſays, he "never met with any that were very intereſting. There were ſome old letters of Dean Nowell. They were generally accompanied with a receipt

to viſit them, and then rather to draw ſhoals of men with the net of the goſpel, than to take a ſolitary fiſh with a hook. In his pariſh of Hadham there was ſcope at once for ſerious duties and innocent recreation. On the banks of the Aſh he meditated penitence, gratitude, and charity; making it his practice to give a tenth part of his revenue, and uſually all his fiſh, to the poor[x].

As a Divine he was not one of thoſe "ſtrawberry preachers," deſcribed by one of his own days, in a ſermon at the croſs[y],

for a rent-charge, or annuity, he had from the Read eſtate. They were in a fair, neat hand-writing. The letters were confined to *the then exiſting ſituation and circumſtances of the Family.*" Strange diverſity of taſte! that the very circumſtance, which, to an antiquary or biographer, ſtamped ineſtimable value on theſe relics, ſhould, in the eye of a man of buſineſs, have rendered them of no account, fit only for the flames! There was alſo among the papers "a Letter of thanks, either from Charles I. or II. to Colonel Roger Nowell, one of the gallant defenders of Latham Houſe, for his ſervices and ſufferings." Dr. Whitaker.

[x] See above, p. 82.

[y] By "Oxenbridge, B. D. Jan. 13, 1566." MS. Tanner, 50. f. 63. &c. The alluſion is from Latimer, perhaps without improvement: "The preaching of the woorde of God unto the people," ſays the good old martyr, in his famous ſermon on the plough, "is called meate. Scripture calleth it meat, not Strawberries, that com but once a yeare, and tary not long, but are ſoone gone." ed. 1562. f. 14. b. Who this Oxenbridge was, I have not diſcovered, except that, if he is rightly ſtyled B. D. in 1566, he was

"which come once in the year." He was a conſtant, and he was a ſucceſsful preacher; for his ſermons were unlike thoſe of certain "ſeeming and ſun-burnt miniſters," of whom his friend Aſcham ſpeaks; "whoſe learning is gotten in a ſummer heat, and waſhed away with a Chriſtmas ſnow again [z]." His learning was ſolid, poliſhed, and durable; his words full of matter, drawn without violence from the Scriptures of truth, and their beſt interpreters, the early fathers; and enlivened by examples of ancient and of modern days. He had the honeſty of Latimer, and a portion of his familiarity, without his quaintneſs and occaſional coarſeneſs.

In whatever light we view him, we ſee

not John Oxenbridge, who ſupplicated for that degree in 1572. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 107. He was however an Oxford man; for he ſays, "I will ſhow you the ſtate and condition of this my mother Oxford—for a piteous caſe it is, that now in all Oxforde, their is not paſt v or vi preachers, I except Strawbery preachers—but—many towardly yonge men," willing to "come to the perfect knowledge of the truthe." In the ſecond Book of Homilies, written about four years before, it is remarked, that the ſaying of Chriſt, "The harveſt is plentiful, but the workmen be but few," is, "in our time, and here in our country ſo true, that every Shire ſhould ſcarcely have one good Preacher, if they were divided." p. 142. Compare Wood's Annals under the years 1557 and 1563.

[z] Schoolmaſter, B. ii. p. 289. ed. Bennet.

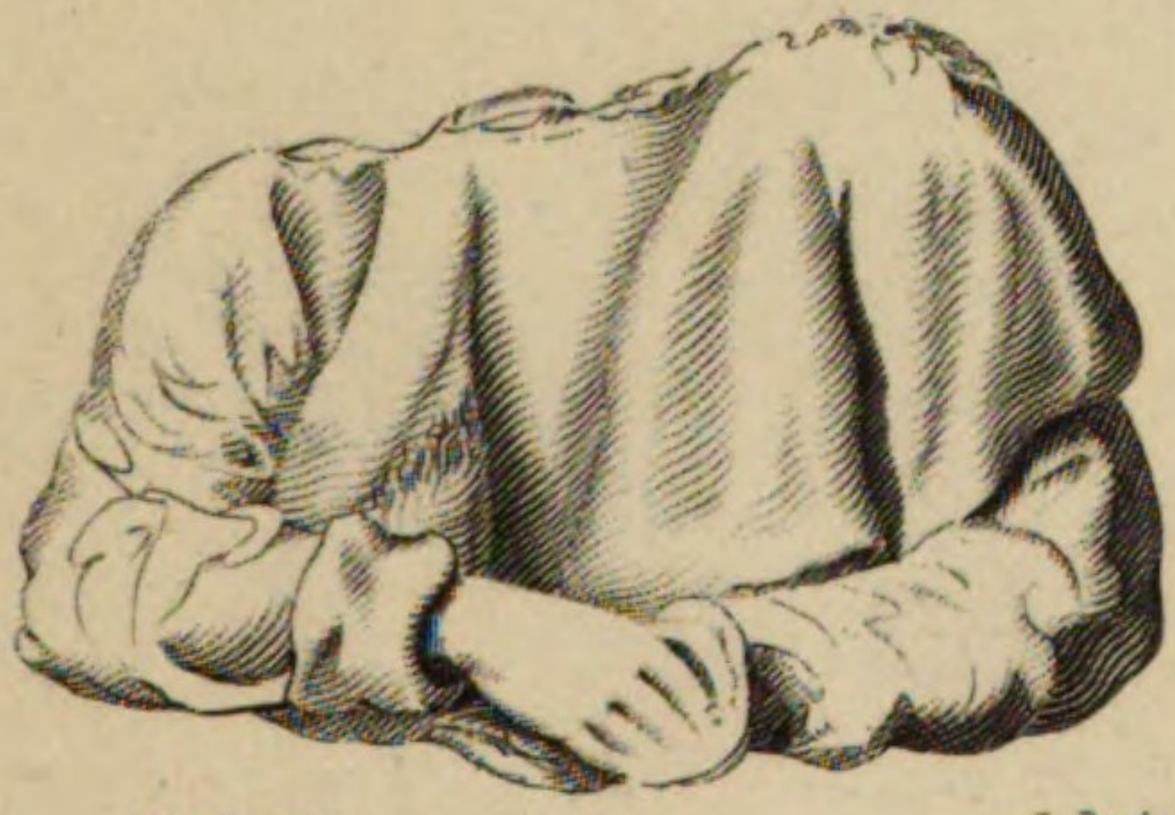
the lineaments and proportion of a true ſon of the Church of England. Dignity and ſimplicity are the characteriſtics of her ſervice and ordinances; piety and plain dealing is the character of Nowell. Generous and kind to his numerous relatives, grave without auſterity in his public deportment, condeſcending without meanneſs in his intercourſe with others, cheerful without levity at his hoſpitable board, he is formed for all times, and conciliates all hearts; dextrous alike to detain the ear of friendſhip and enliven ſocial converſe with anecdotes of paſt occurrences and outlandiſh cuſtoms[a], or, as occaſion invites, to throw in truths of higher import, or, as duty calls, to conſole the bed of ſickneſs, and elevate the departing ſoul from earth to heaven.

But if in this ſummary, as in life, religion has precedence, her faithful handmaid, erudition, muſt not be overlooked or forgotten: and here Nowell ranks with the very firſt men of his time, with Aſcham and Smith, with Grindal and Parker, with Cox and Jewell. His juſt fame in this reſpect, together with his known humanity, wiſdom,

[a] P. 242.

and experience, cauſed his advice and aſſiſtance to be requeſted in behalf of almoſt every ſeminary of learning eſtabliſhed in his time; and when a work of ingenuity, or literary labour is to come abroad, the recommendation of the venerable Dean of St. Paul's is ſtudiouſly prefixed to it, as a paſſport to public favour and acceptance; and dedications wait upon him, as if he had to beſtow the dignities of the Church, or the patronage of the Crown. To encourage genius and draw forth humble merit, his own labours, time, and talents, were uniformly devoted; ſecuring to himſelf an honourable place in the memory and gratitude of mankind, while the right inſtitution of youth is regarded as an object of prime concernment, and the Society, which he augmented by his munificence and adorned by his example, ſhall, by the ſupport of its Friends, the vigilance of its Governours, and the bleſſing of Providence, continue to flouriſh.

C C 3



J. Carter. del. J. Basire Sc.

Remains of the Bust of Dean Nowell,
in the Crypt of the present Cathedral
of S.t Paul London. Jan.y 21.st 1809.

APPENDIX, NUM. I. PEDIGREE OF NOWELL.

Adam Nowell, =

[1] Roger Nowell, = Eliz. d. and coh. of Rich[d]. Fitton, by whom the Nowells obtained half the manor of Great Harwood, fold by the laſt Alexander Nowell, Eſq. of Read.

[2] Adam Nowell, =

Richard Nowell, = Johanna.
vixit 25 Ed. III.

Laurence Nowell, = Katharine.
laſt of Great Merlay, and firſt of Read.

John Nowell, =
ſeized of the manor of Read, 21 Ric. II.

Nicholas Nowell, =
ob. ante patrem.

[3] Alexander Nowell = Eliz. d. of
in 1467 or 1468. Rob. Baniſter, Eſq.

1. in 1462. Dr. of = Tho. Heſketh, Eſq. from whom he was divorced.

Roger Nowell, = Eſquire.

2. Grace[4] d. of John Towneley of Towneley, Eſq.

Iſabel, = Geoffrey Winkley of Winkley.

1. in 1486, Douce or Dowſabel = d. of Rob. Heſketh, Eſq. of Rufford.

John Nowell, Eſq. = ob. 17 H. VIII. 1526.

2. Elizabeth dr. of Mr. Kay of Rachdale. = 2[dly]. 18 H. VIII. Charles 2[d] ſon of Sir John Towneley of Towneley, from whom the preſent family.

Eleanor buried at Whalley, Mar. 7, 1549. = John Hopwood, of Hopwood, near Middleton, Lanc. Eſq.

Maud, married to Edward Radcliffe of Todmorden, Lanc. Eſq. from whom Sir George Radcliffe, Kn. Samuel Radcliffe, D. D. Principal of Braſen Noſe, &c.

John Towneley, Eſq.

Roger Nowell = Grace — Richard Towneley, Miles.

John Towneley, Miles.

John N. = Eliz. Kay ═══ Charles.

Eliz. d. of Mr. Nich. Riſhton from whom he was divorced 16 H. VIII. = Roger Nowell, Eſq. buried at Whalley, Sept. 8, 1567. = 2. Grace d. of Rich. Sherburne of Stonyhurſt, Eſq. buried at Whalley, Jan. 21, 1565.

ALEXANDER, D. D. Dean of St. Paul's.

Laurence, Dean of Lichfield.

Robert, Attorney of the C. of Wards.

Nicholas, Steward to the E. of Shrewſbury.

Margaret = in 1530 to Mr. Tho. Rycroft.

Maude, married to Wm. Deane of Tanworth, Gent.

Elizabeth = in 1530 to Mr. Thomas Whitaker of Holme.

Another daughter = Mr. John Wolton, of Wigan.

John Wolton, Biſhop of Exeter.

Roger Nowell, ob. 9 May, 1591. = at Padiham, Jan. 25, 1551. Florence, Widow of Laur. Starkie, Eſq. of Huntroyd, buried at Whalley, Dec. 18, 1593.

Thomas Nowell oldeſt ſon O. ſ. p. 1561. = Bennet d. of Ric. Towneley of Towneley, Eſq.

Roger

Alice

Anne

Grace

Robert W. from whom the preſent family.

Richard, O. ſ. p.

William, D. D. born in 1547, died 1595.

Roger Nowell, Eſq. buried at Whalley, Jan. 31, 1623. Sheriff of Lanc. 1610. = May 9, 23 Eliz. Katharine d. of John Murton, Eſq. of Murton, buried at Whalley, Feb. 28, 1620.

Eliz. d. of Tho. Fleetwood, Eſq. of Coldwich Com. Staff. = Roger Nowell, Eſq. bapt. at Whalley Aug. 8, 1582. His burial does not appear. ob. 1623. = Katharine d. of Robert Hyde, Eſq. of Norbury, Cheſh. She afterwards marr. Savile Radcliffe, Eſq. of Mearley, and was buried at Clitheroe, Jan. 21, 1664.

1. Rich[d]. Fleetwood of Coldwich in Staff. Eſq. = Mary, bapt. May 21, 1586. = 2. Ralph Hopton, Eſq. of Armley near Leeds.

Florence, bap. Mar. 7, 1587. = Feb. 10, 1606. Mr. Nic. Scarborough, of Gliſburne.

John bapt. Mar. 26, 1589. = Mary Proctor of Bolling.

Alexander bapt. July 31, 1591. buried May 14, 1595.

Iſabella bapt. Feb. 18, 1592.

Alexander bapt. 27 Feb. 1594.

Rob. bapt. June 24, 1596.

Catharine bapt. Jul. 15, 1600.

Roger Nowell, Eſq. = bapt. March 13, 1605. buried at Whalley, May 25, 1695.

Dorothy d. of Rob. Holt of Caſtleton, Eſq. ſhe died June 4, 1681.

Eliz. bapt. Nov. 12, 1607.

Anne Mary, bapt. Sept. 17, 1609.

Tho. bapt. Mar. 24, 1610. died young.

Adam bapt. May 3, 1612. died young.

Rich[d]. bapt. Nov. 18, 1613. ſlain at the ſtorming of Briſtol.

Geo. bapt. Oct. 19. 1620. died in Ireland leaving iſſue.

Ralph born Dec. 26, 1621.

Henry, Dep. Governor of the Iſle of Man, bapt. Jan. 1, 1623.

Penelope, buried at Whalley Mar. 12, 1622.

1[st]. March, 1655. Margaret = d. of W[m]. Farrington, Eſq. of Werden. O. ſ. p. buried at Whalley, Apr. 28, 1673.

Alexander Nowell, Eſq. died Jan. 1, 1695-6. = 2. Eleanor d. of Tho. Heber, Eſq. of Marton, buried at Whalley, Dec. 15, 1683.

Dorothy bapt. Mar. 10, 1629. = Henry Baniſter of Bank, Eſq.

Tho. bapt. June 20, 1631. bur. Apr. 22, 1637.

Mary bapt. Oct. 6, 1635. buried July 8, 1637.

Robert bapt. Dec. 12, 1637.

James bapt. Jan. 3, 1639.

Mary bapt. June 5, 1641. = Nath. Baniſter of Altham, Eſq.

Jan. 31, 1694-5. d. of Rich. Towneley of Carr, Eſq. buried at Whalley 13 March following = Roger Nowell, Eſq. bapt. Jan. 19, 1674-5 buried at Whalley, July 15, 1724. = March 16, 1695-6 at Colne Rebecca Relict of Cuthbert Wade, Eſq. of Kilnſey (d. of Thomas Heber of Marton) ob. 1744. æt. 74.

Tho. bapt. March 30, 1676. O. ſ. p.

Robert bapt. May 1680. O. ſ. p.

Alexander bapt. May 11, 1682, buried at Burnley, Mar. 16, 1747. = Mary d. of Rich[d]. Aſheton, Eſq. of Cuerdale, buried at Burnley, May 3, 1746.

Bridget = Thomas Sherſon, Eſq. Barriſter at Law.

Mary d. of Sir Jn. Legard, Bart. of Ganton, York. = Roger Nowell, Eſq. bapt. Dec. 27, 1697. died at York; buried at Whalley, Oct. 11, 1734. O. ſ. p. m.

Dorothy, Eleonora, Jane, Anne, Tho. Elizabeth, Reginald, all died, ſ. p.

Bridget, bap. Mar. 29, 1703. marr. Alexander ſ. of Thomas Sherſon, Eſq. [5]

Alexander Nowell, Eſq. bap. Jan. 31, 1706. buried at Whalley Nov. 3, 1750. = Dr. of — Hatfield, Eſq. of Stockport, buried at Whalley, Oct. 18, 1763.

Dorothy, bap. Jan. 19, 1712. = John Heber, Rector of Marton.

Reginald H. Rector of Marton, ob. ſ. p.

Alexander = Charles O. ſ. p.

Richard, James, Thomas, ob. ſ. p.

Roger = Mary = James Farrington brother of Sir W[m]. Farrington of Shawhall.

W[m]. Farrington, Eſq. now of Shawhall.

Ralph Nowell, Eſq. of Eccleſton, Lanc. died May, 1780. = Sarah d. of Thomas Whitaker of Holme Gent. died at Preſton, buried at Holme, Apr. 3, 1793.

Rebecca = Rev. John Cayley of Low Hall, Brompton.

Dorothy = Rev. Cuthbert Allanſon of Adlington, Lanc.

Geo. Allanſon, Rector of Marton.

Mary 2 wife of Reg. Heber, Rector of Malpas and Hodnet.

Reginald, now (1807) Rector of Hodnet, Thomas Cuthbert, Fellow of Braſen Noſe, Mary.

Rich[d]. youngeſt ſon, bapt. July 25, 1738. O. ſ. p. 1743.

[6] Alexander Nowell, Eſq. buried at Whalley, May 27, 1772. = Eleanora Matilda, d. of Colonel Ramſey, died in London.

Elizabeth Eleanora died in her childhood.

Thomas[6] O. ſ. p. 1766.

Roger[6] =

Dorothy = Jennens, Eſq. a daughter.

Eliz. = Richard Barton, Eſq. of Manchester. ſeveral children.

Roger ob. inf.

Rebecca Anne Lucy Sarah Mary

Thomas Michael, M.D. born Sept. 29. 1760. ob. Aug. 8. 1807. = Anne Weſt, d. of — Weſt Eſq. Merch. in London.

Alexander John preſent repreſentative of the Family.

Alexander Nowell, Eſq. late of Tirhoot in Bengal, born Nov. 19, 1761. S. p. = Maria Tereſa, widow of Colonel Watſon, chief Engineer to the E. India Comp.

Richard, a Solicitor in Eſſex Street, Lond. born Dec. 29, 1764. S. p. = Iſabella Anne, d. of the Rev. Arthur Cotham, archdeacon of Wilts.

[1] The grant of a corrody to Gilbert de la Legh and John his ſon, from the abbat and convent of Whalley, 23 Edw. I. is atteſted "Simone de Noell et Rogero fratre ſuo." The older brother probably died without iſſue; for the younger, "Roger Nowell of Mereley," as appears by the abſtract of an ancient charter, gave to the ſaid convent of Whalley "19 acres of land, on condition that the prieſt ſaying maſs, ſhould daily make ſpecial commemoration for the ſouls of his family departed, as well as for the good eſtate of the living." The date, 1283, is certainly a miſtake, probably for 1298. Dr. Whitaker, 1809.

[2] Chacea de Blackburnſh. manerium de Magna Merlay olim Radulphi de Rous conceſſ. Stephano Merlay proavo Adæ Nowell de veteri boſco in Sapiden et Penelton wode ad comburend. MS. Dodſworth, 161. f. 57.

[3] Wardſhip of Alexander Nowell, and cuſtody of the manor of Read, and half the manor of Great Harwood, granted to Richard Towneley of Towneley, 12 Hen. VI. Towneley MSS.

[4] Her jointure was 81. ſterling, iſſuing out of Read. Her fortune 100 marks.

[5] Alexander Sherſon, Conſtable of the Caſtle, and Town Clerk, of Lancaſter, ob. Nov. 21, 1737, leaving a numerous iſſue. His ſon Robert Sherſon, M. D. (proprietor of the picture of Dean Nowell) late of Great Ormond Street, now (1809) of Bridge Houſe, Surrey, has alſo a numerous progeny. Edward Robſon, M. A. Vicar of Orſton, Notts, married a niece of Dr. Sherſon, and has iſſue.

[6] Alexander, Thomas, and Roger, the three oldeſt ſons, appear to have been born and baptized at Manchester, where their father reſided as a merchant before his acceſſion to the eſtate. Dr. Whitaker.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

LETTERS, PAPERS, AND EVIDENCES,

MANY OF THEM

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

C C 3

NUM. II. See p. 15.

Lines by Nowell on Bucer, from Buceri Scripta Anglicana, Basil, 1577. f. 910.

In eundem [Bucerum] Alexandri Nouelli.

Cognita Germanis, bene cognita ſancta Britannis,
Vita Bucere tua, et lingua Bucere tua.
Cognita ſunt latum ſanctiſſima ſcripta per orbem,
Queis pia nulla magis, docta nec vlla magis.
Sed Cantabrigiæ, non toto cognitus anno,
Conditus es tumulo, magne Bucere, breui.
Sic Cantabrigiæ, fatorum lege, Bucere,
Cognitus et decus es, conditus et dolor es.

Eiuſdem in eundem.

Extinctum nollem quiſquam putet eſſe Bucerum,
Mens vitam in ſupero lumine cuius habet.
Extinctum nollem quiſquam putet eſſe; quid ergo?
Corporis eſt placidus ſomnus, eritque breuis.
Extinctum nollem quiſquam putet eſſe; perennis
Fama viri viuit, ſcriptaque docta vigent.
Extinctum ne ergo quiſquam putet eſſe Bucerum,
Scriptaque cum viuant famaque menſque viri.
Triſtis abeſto dolor, viuenti gratulor: ille
Nam mundo viuit, viuit et ille Deo.

NUM. III. See p. 40—45.

Letter to Mr. Abel at Straſburgh, from the original in the poſſeſſion of John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamſcot.

At london y^is^ 28. of May. 1559.

The comfort of y^e^ H. gooſt reſt euer w^th^ yow. y^e^ laſt ſonday I could not wryte vnto yow in tyme for y^e^ poſt. ſyns I wrote laſt vnto yow, haue we only thes newes that folow on whytſonmonday[a] dyd m^r^ gryndal preach at y^e^ croſs w^ch^ was y^e^ firſt ſermon y^t^ was there ſyns chryſmas ſauyng. 2. y^t^ were made there at eaſter. In y^e^ w^ch^ ſermon the lord keeper[b] & y^e^ whole cowncell being preſent, he dyd proclayme the reſtoring of y^e^ booke of kyng edward, whereat as well y^e^ lords as the people made or at leaſt pretended a wonderful reyoyſing, never a bysſhop nor canon of powles being preſent therat; y^e^ fryday affter was, a pryſt, a popysſh merchant caryed to y^e^ towr for vtteryng words againſt y^e^ quens ma. (whom y^e^ lord long preſerue) y^t^ ſhe ſhuld not long contynewe. by hym we may coniecture y^e^ good wyllys off y^e^ reſt. becaus y^e^ penaltye for y^e^ not receyuyng of y^e^ booke ſhal not take place tyll mydſomer, therfor

[a] Strype ſpeaking of this ſermon of Grindal's (L. of Grindal, p. 24.) ſays, it was on *Wedneſday*, May 15; which is probably a miſtake. See alſo his Annals, i. 133.

[b] Sir Nicholas Bacon.

powls & certen other churchys kepe their popysſh ſeruys ſtyll but the moſt part in y^e^ cytye are reformed. ther ſhall be ſhortly a vyſytacyon thorowt y^e^ whole reame. Sir antony coke, m^r^ gudryck[c], d. may. d. cox, d. haddon m^r^ wrath[d], w^th^ my lord of bedford, lord munge[e] and one d. weſton[f] y^t^ was m^r^ couerdalys[g] chanceler (who is now deane of the arches)

[c] Perhaps Richard Gooderike, Eſquire, one of the Commiſſioners of Edw. VI. for compiling the Reformatio Legum. See the King's letter prefixed to the work.

[d] "If you will not ſpeake, then I beſech yow, let theſe my letters ſpeake vnto m. Gates, to m. *Wrothe*, to m. Cicill, whom all I doe take for men that doe feare God." Ridley to Cheke, Jul. 23, 1551. Letters of Martyrs, p. 684. Sir Thomas Wrothe, one of the Gentlemen of the King's privy Chamber, has an allowance of cloth at the funeral of Edw. VI. Archæol. vol. xii. p. 378. and ſo has "Doctor Coxe, amner," (almoner) ib. 368. Sir Thomas Wroth was appointed, with Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Greſham &c. to aſſiſt the Lord Mayor in the government of the city of London in 1572, during the Queen's progreſs. Ward's L. of Greſham, p. 17.

[e] Lord Mountjoy, the name being familiarly ſoftened (by the letter writer, and probably by others) nearly as *St. John* is into *Singin*. "The lorde Mounte Joye" is one of "Fower yonge Lordes" of the Chamber to Edw. VI. Archæol. ut ſupra, xii. p. 375.

[f] Robert Weſton, LL.D. Ath. Oxon. i. F. 85. Official of the Court of Canterbury in Convocation, 1562. Synod. Angl. p. 193. One of the Lords Juſtices in Ireland, and Chancellor of that kingdom. Strype's Ann. i. 330.

[g] Of "father Coverdale," as he was commonly called (formerly biſhop of Exeter) or, in his own humble phraſe, "Old Miles," many intereſting notices occur in the accounts of the times. He had the plague in 1563, but recovered; on which occaſion, Grin-

ſhall be vyſytors and alſo y^e^ quens commyſſyoners for all eccleſiaſtycall matters w^th^ certen other adyoyned vnto them that thei ſhall be in all. xiiii. on trynyte ſonday dyd m^r^ horn[h] preach at y^e^ croſs & made an excellent ſermon agaynſt Antychryſts vycar. on tuyſday affter came in y^e^ french embaſſytors[i] & wer receyued very honorably at y^e^ cowrt at weſtmyſter on wedyneſday & there feaſted. on thurſday in ſteade of receyuyng y^e^ ſacrament in y^e^ chapell at y^e^ cowrt y^e^ quene came down from hir cloſet & receyued a corporall oth to y^e^ french kyngs embaſſytor for y^e^ confirmacyon of y^e^ peace, but ſhe receyved not y^e^ ſacrament. all y^e^ embaſſytors were preſent at y^e^ Inglyſh ſeruyce in y^e^ chapell, & affter y^e^ ſeruyce feaſted of y^e^ quene very honorably & w^th^ ſuch

dal, biſhop of London, ſaid, "Surely it is not well that he, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Chriſto*, ſhould be now in his age without ſtay of living. I cannot herein excuſe us biſhops; ſomewhat I have to ſay for myſelf; for I have offered him divers things, which he thought not meet for him." 20. Dec. 1563. Burghley MS. vi. N°. 85. He ſoon after gave him the living of St. Magnus, London Bridge. He died, aged 81, May 20, 1565, as Strype ſays (for others aſſign a different date) Annals, i. 405. where ſee his epitaph. The excellent, though not always perfectly accurate, verſion of the Pſalms in the book of Common Prayer, is from Coverdale's Bible.

[h] Afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. There is a head of him in Gent. Mag. 1791. p. 611.

[i] See Strype's Ann. i. 191. "After a ſplendid dinner, they were entertained with the baiting of bears and bulls with Engliſh dogs. The Queen's Grace herſelf and the ambaſſadors ſtood in the gallery looking on the paſtime."

ſolemnytye almoſt as neuer hath bene ſene y^e^ lyke. y^e^ ſame day departed hens home agayne, cownty ferys[k], kyng phylyps embaſſytor w^th^ his company. on wednyſday laſt came home m^r^ ſpryngam[l] & his wyffe w^th^ his company. y^is^ day dyd preach at y^e^ croſs m^r^ barloo[m], who is named to be bysſhop of chycheſter. & m^r^ ſcory to be bysſhop of herford, m^r^ parkar of canterbery, m^r^ cox of norwych & m^r^ byll[n] or m^r^ whytheade[o] of ſalyſbery. but there is none as yet certenly appoynted, but I thynck as ſoon as the embaſſytors be gone, things ſhall be ſpedyly ſett furth.

[k] Comes Feriæ. Camden's Annals, ed. 1615. p. 20. 57. See County, third ſenſe, in Johnſon. "If I were able to have beene *County* of Mansfield." Thomas Count Arundel (afterwards Lord Arundel) about 5 Aug. 1596. Peck, Deſid. Cur. Lib. vii. N°. xix. 10. 25. So *Vicary* for *Vicar*, in a compoſition about tithes, A. D. 1444. Newcourt, ii. 624. and in Sir H. Colet's will, 1506. Knight's Colet, p. 462. and in Chaucer:

" Sir preeſt (quod he) art thou a *Vicary*,
Or art thou a perſon? ſay ſoth by thy fay." Parſon's Tale.

[l] See Burnet's Reform. ii. Collect. p. 264.

[m] William Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, 1536. tranſlated to Wells, 1549. made biſhop of Chicheſter in 1559. He is ſaid to have tranſlated the Apocrypha as far as the book of Wiſdom. Ath. Oxon. i. 157. He had five daughters, all married to biſhops. Strype's Parker, p. 475.

[n] William Bill, Dean of Weſtminſter, is mentioned occaſionally in theſe memoirs of Nowell. See more of him in Willis's Cath. ii. p. 220. Strype's L. of Cheke, p. 10.

[o] David Whitehead, " a great light of learning, and a moſt heavenly profeſſor of divinity," as Wood ſays (Ath. Oxon. i. 172.) but whether of Brazen Noſe, or All Souls, he finds not. See Granger, i. 214.

m^r elmar hath ſett furth a booke called y^e har-brough [p], againſt m^r knooks firſt blaſt, he is w^th my lord John graye. of any maryage towards [q] there is no talkyng at all. thes be all y^e news y^t I haue at y^is tyme to wryte yow ſauyng y^t I was at my newe benyfyce in kent, wherof I wrote yow in my laſt letters, y^is laſt weke, by the ſame token y^t I was robbed at gaddys hyll of my gown and my capp, take hede yow come not there. y^us deſyryng yow to make my harty commendacyons to yo^r wyffe, to m^r d. mownt^r & his wyffe to d. andernake^s & his wyffe

[p] Aylmer's "Harborough for faithful and true Subjects," againſt "Mr. Knooks" (John Knox's) Firſt Blaſt, was printed at Straſburgh, and came out in April, 1559. Strype's Ann. i. 122. L. of Aylmer, p. 16. 224. See Granger, i. 207.

[q] It was firſt, "Of Phylyps maryage there is." Then the writer daſhed his pen through "Phylyps," and interlined "any" and "towards."

[r] Chriſtopher Mount was a German by birth, much employed by H. VIII. in meſſages to the German princes and ſtates. Strype's Memor. i. 329. Annals, ii. 97. Burnet's Reform. iii. 199. Collect. p. 195. Aſcham was acquainted with him, and frequently correſponded with him. See his Epp. p. 35. 385. 399. 418. Joan. Caius de Libris propriis, p. 159. ſpeaks of him as "excellens vir, dominus Chriſtoferus Mounte, juris utriuſque Doctor, et ſereniſſimis Angliæ principibus apud Argentoratenſes jam diu orator ſingularis."

[s] Johannes Guinterius, called Andernake from a town on the Rhine, where he was born (as we learn from Melchior Adamus, in his Vitæ Germanorum Medicorum, 1620, p. 223—227.) was Phyſician to Francis I. He is celebrated for his virtues and his learning, and as "Mæcenas eruditorum." He had three wives (their names not mentioned;) the ſecond died at Straſburg, where Dr. Andernake read lectures on Ariſtotle and Demoſthenes. His

fraw katryn[t] and other our frynds, I commytt yow to y[e] tuycyon of god.

yo[r] own allwayes as yow know.

I long now to heare from yow, and what tydyngs from balborn. yo[r] firſt letter y[t] yow wrote me I haue not yet receyued. yet one thing more certen byſshops as y[e] byff. of york. of london, of lychfeld, of carlhyll doo put away their men, becaus as men thynck thei wyll gyve ouer their byſshoprycks I pray god there come no worſe tydyngs to Ingland. y[e] moſt part of y[e] monks of weſtmyſter haue changed their cootes allredy.

To his louyng frynd Mr. Abell now being at ſtraſsburgh, deliuer this

At Straſsburgh

R the 19 June 1559

This letter, ſo full of news, at a moment ſo intereſting, is ſealed with a wafer, the device or impreſſion now effaced, except that the letters

third wife ſurvived him. He died 4 Oct. 1574. æt. 87. Several of his works (De Medicina Vet. et Nova &c.) are in the Bodleian Library. See alſo Magiri Eponymolog. Crit. ed. per Eybenium, p. 413.

[t] *Frow* or *Vrow*, I am informed, is *Wife*, in Dutch, or, as Bailey and others ſay, *Woman*, but often uſed, as the correſponding term in Greek is, for *Wife*. And ſuch, I preſume, is the ſenſe of it here, Dr. Andernake probably being accuſtomed (as his friend the Letter-writer knew) to call his wife familiarly, "Frow Katryn."

"E. A." are diſcoverable in one part, and I think "N." on the oppoſite margin; if theſe, initials perhaps, may lead to any conjecture reſpecting the writer. Of Mr. John Abel, to whom it is addreſſed, in addition to what has been ſaid, p. 40. many references might be given. See in particular, Burnet's Reform. iii. 351. 360. Collect. p. 295. Strype's Parker, App. 106. Memor. iii. 142. 147. Aſcham's Epp. p. 391. Bullinger ſent his Commentary on Daniel to biſhop Sandys (to whom he dedicated it) by Abel, which Sandys acknowledged in a handſome letter, and ſent him a token by Abel. Strype's Ann. i. 523. App. p. 80. where alſo, p. 81. Jewell mentions him in a letter to Bullinger.

NUM. IV. See p. 77.

Letter of Nowell to Archbiſhop Parker, Oct. 4, 1562, concerning John Sanderſon of Trinity College, Cambridge. From MS. Parker cvi. 221. p. 534. *in Bennet College, Cambridge.*

After my humble commendations to yor grace thes are to certifie the ſame, that, wheras one John Sanderſon late felowe of Trinitie College in Cambrige, doothe troble and moleſt Mr. Beaumont, Mr. of the ſaide houſe and the holle colege, pleadinge, that he was uniuſtlie expelled by them: and, the cauſe beinge called before the

highe c[ommiſſion]ers [u], laboreth by all frendſhipp that he can make, to have it remitted to C[ambrige] ageine, wher he is aſſured of frendſhipp be his cauſe right or wrong: in c[aſe your] grace and other the highe commiſſioners lett the matter ſlyppe out of yo[r] h[ands] ther is noo further hoope of bridelinge the obſtinacie of the papiſts th[ere] further whereas there be towe of the felowes of the ſaid houſe now he[reabou]t, iff it doo ſoo ſeme good to yo[r] grace, I and certen other think it expedi[ent], that thei were called before the highe commiſſioners by a letter as ſpeciallie ſent for that purpoſe, and examined what thei can ſay in that matter: and ſoo further to procede too the determininge of the ſaide controuerſie, as æquitie ſhall require rather than by ſubtilitie of law, and deſcantinge vppon termes and wordes for it is not onlie in hande whether John Sanderſon ſhalbe felow of Trinitie College, or noo felow: but whether ther ſhalbe enie reuerence towards the ſuperiors, enie obedience, enie redreſſe or reformation in religion in that hoole Vniverſitie or noo: whether the truthe ſhall obteine, or papiſtrie triumphe. Wherfor I beſeche yo[r] grace to tender this cauſe, not as the controuerſie of towe or thre perſons, or the caſe of one College onlie, or of this preſent tyme, but as the common cauſe of vs all, and a

[u] The MS. being in ſome places a little mutilated, the words or parts of words, included within brackets, have been ſupplied by conjecture.

matter of example not onlie for that vniuerſitie, but all other lyke places, and tymes herafter alſoo thus beinge bolde to declare my mynde to yo^r^ grace concerninge this matter I commend yo^r^ grace to allmightie god who euer preſerve the ſame. from London 4. Octobris. 1562.

Yo^r^ graces to commande

Alexander Nowell.

NUM. V. See p. 103.

Sonnet addreſſed to Nowell, from "Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonettes. Newly written by Barnabe Googe: 1563." *in black letter. Signat.* E. 5. b. *in the Library of Richard Heber, Eſquire.*

To Mayſter Alexander Nowell.

The Muſes ioye^x^, and well they may to ſe,
So well theyr laboure com to good ſucceſſe,
That they ſuſtayned long agoe in the,
Minerua ſmyles, Phebus can do no leſſe,
But over all, they chyefly do reioyſe,
That leauyng thyngs, which are but fond and vayne,
Thou dyddeſt chuſe, (O good and happye choyſe)
In ſacred Scoles, thy lucky yeares to trayne,

^x^ The lines are divided, each of them, after the ſecond foot, or fourth ſyllable, even if it happens in the middle of a word; a peculiarity, for the convenience perhaps of the printer on a ſmall page, which it did not ſeem neceſſary to retain.

By whiche thou haſt obtayned (O happy thyng)
To learne to lyue, whyle other wander wyde,
And by thy lyfe, to pleaſe the immortall kyng,
Then whiche ſo good, nothyng can be applyed,
Lawe gyues the gayne, and Phyſycke fyls the Purſe,
Promotions hye, gyues Artes to many one,
But this is it, by whiche we ſcape the Curſe,
And haue the blys of God, when we be gone.
Is this but onely Scriptures for to reade?
No, no. Not talke, but lyfe gyues this in deade.

NUM. VI. See p. 155.

Inſcription on the epiſcopal Palace at Ely.

On a ſtone tablet, in the eaſt ſide of a ſpacious bow, in a long gallery, built by biſhop Goodrich, on the north ſide of the palace at Ely, in large capital letters, a full point, as here, after each word:

"OVR · DVTIE · TOWARDES · GOD · IS · TO · BELEVE · IN · GOD · TO · FEAR · GOD · AND · TO · LOVE · GOD · WITH · ALL · OVR · HERT · WITH · ALL · OVR · SOVL · WITH · ALL · OVR · MYND · & · WITH · ALL · OVR · POVER · TO · WORSHIPPE · GOD · TO · GYVE · HYM · THANKES · TO · PUT · OVR · WHOL · TRUST · IN · GOD · TO · CALL · VPON · HYM · TO · HONOVR · HIS · HOLY · NAM · AND · HIS · WORDE · & · TO · SERVE · GOD · TRVLY · ALL · THE · DAYES · OF · OVR · LYFE."

On a tablet in the weſt ſide of the ſame window:

"THE · DVTIE · TOWARDES · OVR · NEIGHBOVR · IS ·

TO · LOVE · HYM · AS · MYSELF · AND · TO · DO · TO · ALL · MEN · AS · I · WOLDE · THEY · SHVHDE[a] · DO · TO · ME · TO · HONOVR · & · OBEY · THE · KYNGE · AND · HIS · MINISTERS · TO · SVBMIT · OVR · SELFE · TO · ALL · OVR · GOVERNOVRES · SPIRITVALL · & · TEMPORALL · TO · ORDER · OVR · SELFE · LOWELY · TO · ALL · SVPERIORS · TO · HVRT · NO · BODY · BY · WORDE · NOR · DEDE · TO · BE · JVSTE · IN · ALL · OVR · DEALYNG · TO · BEAR · NO · MALYCE · IN · OVR · HERT · TO · KEP · OVR · HANDES · FROM · STELYNG · & · OVR · TONG · FROM · EVYLL · SPEAKYNGE · TO · KEPE · OVR · BODEYS · IN · TEMPERANCE · NOR · TO · COVET · OTHER · MENS · GOODES · BVT · LABOVRE · TRVELY · FOR · OVR · LYVYNGE · IN · STATE · OF · LYFE · WHICHE · PLEAS · GOD · TO · CAL · VS · ON · TO."

The lower part of the front of the window is divided into three compartments or tablets; on the middle one are the King's arms, with E. R. over them: on that to the Eaſt the arms of the ſee, with theſe inſcriptions; at the top, "Honour & Glory to God;" on the eaſt ſide, "In the Lord put I my truſt;" on the weſt, "The Lord be my helper." On the other compartment are the Biſhop's arms, with "T. G." and a croſier; over theſe, "Anno Domini M. VC. LII." On the eaſt ſide, "Si Deus nobiſcum," on the other, "Quis contra nos;" and below, "Anno ſexto Edvardi VI."

[a] Sic.

NUM. VII. See p. 164.

Some paſſages of Poinet's Catechiſm (commonly called Edward VI*th's.) and Nowell's compared.*

In the general diviſion of his ſubject, Poinet thus accounts for the uſe of the word *Symbolum*, as applied to the Creed, or ſummary of Chriſtian faith:

"M. Fidei compendium cur Symbolum *nominarunt?*

A. Symbolum, ſi interpreteris, eſt ſignum, nota, teſſera, aut indicium, quo commilitones ab hoſtibus dignoſcuntur: unde compendium fidei, quo Chriſtiani a non Chriſtianis diſtinguuntur, Symboli nomen *ſortitum eſt.*" Signature a. v. 4.

Nowell has copied this *verbatim*, but in another part, ſpeaking of the Creed, with the change only of *nominatur*, for *nominarunt*; and for "*ſortitum eſt*," the neater phraſe of "*ſibi recte aſcivit.*" p. 46. ed. Oxon. 1795.

Poinet thus defines the viſible church of Chriſt:

"Ea eccleſia non eſt aliud, quam certa quædam multitudo hominum, qui in quocunque loco ſint, puram et ſinceram profitentur doctrinam Chriſti, idque ea forma, quæ ab Evangeliſtis et Apoſtolis in *teſtamento ſancto* Chriſti fideliter *prodita eſt:* quique in omnibus gubernantur et regun-

tur legibus et ſtatutis ſui regis et pontificis Chriſti, in vinculo charitatis, et præterea utuntur ejus myſteriis, quæ *communi* vocabulo Sacramenta appellantur, eadem puritate et ſimplicitate (quod ad ipſorum naturam et *ſubſtantiam* attinet) qua uſi ſunt et nobis in ſcriptis reliquerunt Apoſtoli Chriſti." Signat. d. v. 7.

The definition of "Viſibilis eccleſia" Nowell adopts preciſely, as far as "doctrinam Chriſti;" and then proceeds, "Illam ipſam videlicet, quam Evangeliſtæ atque Apoſtoli *ſacrarum literarum ſempiternis monumentis* fideliter *memoriæ prodiderunt*: quique Deum Patrem Chriſti nomine vere invocant: utuntur præterea ejus myſteriis, quæ *uſitato nobis* vocabulo Sacramenta appellantur, eadem puritate et ſimplicitate (quod ad ipſorum naturam attinet) qua uſi ſunt, et literis conſignarunt Apoſtoli Chriſti." p. 102.

In this paſſage, if the theological ſtudent, remembering that "in the viſible church the evil are ever mingled with the good," commends Nowell for what he has prudently omitted, as ſcarcely conſiſtent with that melancholy truth, the claſſical ſcholar will, at the ſame time, be pleaſed with the evident and uniform improvement in the language.

But as matters of doctrine and ſcholaſtic definitions muſt neceſſarily be, in great meaſure, the ſame in thoſe who hold and teach the ſame doctrine, I will adduce an inſtance or two, where the agreement or paralleliſm, being obſervable in the

argument or illuſtration, will be regarded perhaps as a ſtill more deciſive proof, that one borrowed from the other.

" Res quæ incorporeæ ſunt, *corporis organo non poſſunt apprehendi.* Quis unquam ſuam ipſius animam viderit ? nullus. At quid nobis præſentius ? quid cuiquam propinquius anima ſua ? Quæ ſpiritualia ſunt, non videntur niſi oculo ſpiritus. *Chriſti* igitur *divinitatem* qui in terris videre vult, aperiat oculos non corporis, ſed animi, ſed fidei, et videbit præſentem quem oculus *non vidit.*" Poinet, ſignat. c. v.

" Nam res quæ incorporeæ ſunt, *ſub ſenſum cadere non poſſunt.* Quis unquam ſuam ipſius animam viderit ? Nullus. At quid nobis *adeſt* præſentius, quid propinquius, conjunctiuſve, quam anima cuique ſua ? Quæ ſpiritualia ſunt, non videntur niſi oculo ſpiritus. *Chriſtum* igitur qui in terris videre vult, aperiat oculos non corporis, ſed animi et fidei, et videbit præſentem, quem oculus *non videt.*" Nowell, p. 85.

" Cum autem ſit rex non alicujus regionis unius, verum etiam et cœli et terræ, vivorum pariter et mortuorum, *conſultiſſimum fuit*, ut clam ſenſibus noſtris regnum ſuum adminiſtraret. Si enim *oculorum ſenſibus ſubjiceretur*, oportuit eum nunc *in cœlum erigi*, nunc in terram deprimi ; nunc in hanc regionem, nunc in aliam migrare, atque ita ut princeps quiſpiam terrenus, huc atque illuc negotiorum varietate traheretur. Non enim poterat omnibus una adeſſe præſens, niſi corpus illius ſic abiret in divini-

tatem, ut ubique aut in quamplurimis locis ſimul eſſet, quod Eutyches et conſimiles ejus hæretici, *ſenſerunt*. Si vero in eodem momento temporis ubique omnibus præſens adeſſet, jam *non eſſet* homo, ſed ſpectrum, neque corpus *habuiſſet* verum, ſed imaginarium: ex qua re mille continuo naſcerentur errores, quos omnes corpore integro in cœlum *evecto ſuſtulit*. Regnum interim et rempublicam ſuam, id eſt Eccleſiam, cum ſumma ſapientia et virtute adminiſtrat, ipſe inconſpicuus. Hominum eſt humana quadam ratione reſpublicas ſuas moderari, Chriſti autem *et Dei*, divina." Poinet, ſignat. c. v. 7.

" Cum non unius alicujus regionis terræ, ſed omnium terrarum orbis pariter atque cœli princeps ſit, vivorum pariter atque mortuorum Dominus; *par erat*, ut clam ſenſibus noſtris regnum ſuum adminiſtraret. Nam ſi ſub aſpectum veniret, locum atque ſedem mutare, huc et illuc identidem trahi, et nunc in hanc regionem, nunc in aliam migrare eum opus eſſet, ut ſuſcepta negotia tranſigeret. Si enim eodem momento temporis ubique omnibus præſens adeſſet, jam non homo, ſed ſpectrum potius eſſe, neque corpus *habuiſſe* verum, ſed imaginarium *videretur:* aut certe quod Eutyches *cenſuit*, corpus ejus abiiſſe in Divinitatem, aut ubique eſſe putaretur. Unde mille continuo naſcerentur opiniones falſæ quas omnes, corpore integro in cœlum *ſublato, depulit*, animoſque hominum maximis erroribus liberavit. Mundum interim, tametſi nobis non conſpicuus, ſumma virtute et ſapientia admirabiliter regit

atque adminiſtrat. Hominum eſt humana quadam ratione reſpublicas ſuas gubernare et moderari; Chriſti autem, id eſt, Filii Dei, divina." Nowell, p. 86.

The dignity and propriety, as well of the omiſſions as alterations in theſe paſſages, will at once ſtrike the judicious reader: and in this way, following the example of Cicero in a like caſe, when he borrowed from preceding philoſophers as much "as he thought good, and in the manner which he judged beſt," he has availed himſelf of almoſt all that was excellent in Poinet's Catechiſm; and paſſing over, beſides various other parts, what was ſaid of the millennium[y], as matter of doubt, or not ſuitable to an elementary treatiſe, he has, by his maſterly arrangement, application, and improvement of what was once another's, made it his own; and intitled himſelf to the praiſe of the architect, who, in conſtructing a fair and commodious edifice, diſdains not to uſe old as well as new materials.

NUM. VIII. See p. 182.

"Preces et Catechiſmus in uſum antiquæ et celebris Scholæ juxta D. Pauli Templum apud Londinates." With "Imprimatur. Jo. Battely. Jun. 11, 1687."

The "Contents," on the back of the title page

[y] See the paſſages in Mede, p. 813. 815. ed. 1672.

are theſe: "The Prayers in Latine" (for St. Paul's School.) "The Lord's Prayer. The Apoſtles Creed. The Nicene Creed. The Athanaſian Creed. The ſecond Athanaſian Creed. The Conſtantinopolitan Creed. The Commandments. The Salutation. The Magnificat. The Benedictus. Canticum Simeonis. Canticum trium puerorum, Two Hymns, Gratiarum actiones." (The above, except the prayers, all in Greek.) "The names of the Books in the Bible and Apocrypha, Latin, Greek, Engliſh. The Hebrew and Greek Alphabet. Catechiſmus parvus." (Nowell's ſmalleſt.) "Church Catechiſm, Engliſh." (The title of this laſt is, "The A B C: with the Catechiſm, that is to ſay an Inſtruction" &c. as in the book of Common Prayer.) On the back of the title of this part is a wood cut of a Schoolmaſter teaching boys and girls, as old as the days of Elizabeth. Facing this are three alphabets, black letter, Roman, and Italic. And of the church Catechiſm, as here printed, it muſt be noted, that it is not, "*Queſtion.* What is your name? *Anſwer*" &c. but,

"*Maſter.* What is your name?

Scholar. N. or M." as in all Nowell's Catechiſms. And every Commandment is followed by, "Lord have mercy" &c. as in Nowell's ſmalleſt by, "Miſerere noſtri" &c. John Day had a licence, 25 March, 7 Edw. VI. (1553) to print "A Catechiſme in Engliſhe withe the brief of an A B C therunto annexed," and all works of Poinet biſhop of Wincheſter and Thomas Beacon. Reg. of biſhop Goodrich, then Lord Chancellor, Cotton Libr. Julius, B. ix. And

33 Eliz. Feb. 26. (1590-1) Verney Alley had a reverſionary patent, commencing from the death of John Day and Richard Day his ſon, to print "The A B C with the Little Catechiſme, and the Catechiſme in Engliſhe and Latine, compiled by Alexander Nowell, with all other bookes in Engliſhe or Latine," made or to be made by "the ſaid Alexander Nowell." Recognized in a patent granted to the company of Stationers, 1603. Malcolm's Londin. Rediviv. 1807. vol. iv. 388. "The Little Catechiſm," thus coupled with "The A B C," is no doubt the Church Catechiſm, as in the ſmall volume here quoted; of which it muſt further be noted, that to the Church Catechiſm are ſubjoined eight Graces before and after meat; and then,

"The little Catechiſm learned
by heart (for ſo it ought)
The Primer next commanded is
for children to be taught."

Which lines are alſo ſubjoined to the Engliſh copy of Nowell's ſmalleſt Catechiſm, 1582; in the poſſeſſion of R. Heber, Eſquire. As to the letters "N or M," in this and the Church Catechiſm, I have in vain conjectured whether any latent meaning was intended by them (as the initials of *N*owell and *M*ullins &c.) In the Latin of the Church Catechiſm (ſuppoſed to be Haddon's) printed with Whitaker's Greek verſion of the Prayers of the Church of England, 1569, the letters are "N vel *N*." In the form of Matrimony it is "M" where the man is meant, and "N" for the woman.

NUM. IX. See p. 182—184.

Extracts from Nowell's smalleſt Catechiſm.

Reverendiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus ac Dominis, Matthæo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, Edmundo Archiepiſcopo Eboracenſi, Edwino Epiſcopo Londinenſi, aliiſque reverendis Patribus, Epiſcopis Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ vigilantiſſimis, fideliſſimiſque Paſtoribus.

Quum pietas fundamentum ſit virtutum omnium, par eſt, ut teneri puerorum animi piis ſtatim opinionibus imbuantur. Ad hunc igitur pietatis uſum, Catechiſmum illum parvum de ſermone vulgari noſtra in Latinum, quantum efficere et conſequi potui, quantumque per religionem licebat, pure atque emendate converti: ut habeant pueri noſtri, ſtatim atque ſcholam ſunt ingreſſi, ipſorum ætati atque ingenio accommodum libellum pium et parvum, quem Latine ad verbum ediſcant: quem quum ante quoque cognitum habuerint, eundem illum verbis novum audire, ſententia veterem recognoſcere, ut parum difficile, ita magnopere ipſis jucundum erit. Quod ſiquis pleriſque in locis prolixe magis reſponſum eſſe exiſtimabit, quam ſit commodum ad captum memoriolamque puerilem, is ſciat, religioni me habuiſſe, de Catechiſmo authoritate publica approbato, quicquam movere, aut immutare. Hic Libellus, ſi infimis Scholarum claſſibus atque ordinibus (interpoſita authoritate veſtra) ediſcendus proponatur, initium inde ſu-

mere noſtri, et aliquem gradum aditumque ad majora aſſequi poſſunt atque obtinere.

Veſtri ſtudioſiſſimus,

obſervantiſſimuſque,

A. N.

M. Volo te, mi fili, de certis adhuc quorundam officiis fuſius paulo dicere: itaque primum, quæ in colendis obedientiæ officiis ſita ſunt explicare: cujus virtutis munera ad ætatis conditioniſque tuæ rationem maxime pertinent. Age ergo, dic mihi primum, quod ſit ſubjectorum erga ſuum principem officium.

A. Sancti Apoſtoli, divus Paulus et Petrus docent, Poteſtates omnes ſuperiores a Deo creatas et conſtitutas eſſe[z]; et eos, qui poteſtati reſiſtunt, contra divinum decretum repugnare, ipſoſque ſibi damnationem accerſere: ſubjectos proinde omnes etiam atque etiam monent, ut Principem ſuum metuant, diligant, colant, ejus legibus, edictis, præceptis, legumque et regni miniſtris modeſte pareant: idque non propter metum ſolum, ſed rectæ etiam voluntatis conſcientiam: ut vectigalia omnia, tributaque debita conferant: nec opibus ſolum omnibus, ſed et corporibus etiam ſuis Principi fideliter inſerviant. Deum item precibus omnibus orare debent, ut Principem tueri, et in omni bonitate, pietateque non conſervare modo, ſed cumulatius etiam augere, aut mores ejus, ſi forte malus fuerit, emendare velit: omnibus denique bonorum

[z] Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

ſubditorum officiis promereri, ut Principe facili bonoque in ſe utantur.

M. Nunc de liberorum erga parentes officiis narra.

A. Sacra Scriptura liberos jubet parentibus obtemperare, atque inſervire[a]: parentes timere, chariſſimos eos habere, eos colere et revereri: eaque non verbis ſolum, actiſque, ſed vere etiam atque ex animo præſtare, parentum præceptis parere, et vitæ eorum exempla imitari: a parentibus ſi quando caſtigentur, patienter ferre: Deum Optimum Maximum, ut parentes ſalvos atque conſervatos velit, aſſidue ſuppliciterque precari: parentes, ſi forte in egeſtatem, aut afflictam fortunam inciderint, facultatibus ſuis ſublevare atque alere: parendo, cunctiſque piorum liberorum officiis præſtandis nullam partem ſe amoris erga[b] bonitatiſque promerendæ occaſionem amittere.

M. Jam abs te audire velim, quid de ſpiritualium liberorum, Paræcorum videlicet, vel curialium, auditorumque officiis erga paſtores ſuos, et concionatores, ut ſpirituales parentes, didiceris.

A. Paræcis auditoribuſque in verbo Dei præcipitur, ut paſtoribus ſuis et concionatoribus duplicem

[a] Epheſ. vi. Col. iii. Prov. i. 8.

[b] Having ſeen only one copy of this Catechiſm and that incorrectly printed, I have corrected two or three typographical errors; but here, where probably ſomething is omitted as well as ſomething wrong, I have been obliged to leave it as I found it. The Scriptural references alſo (which are given in this part only, and upon the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper) being full of miſtakes, I have corrected ſeveral; but one or two, which were palpably, and, to me, incorrigibly wrong, I have ventured to omit.

honorem tribuant [c]: id eſt, ut eos non revereantur ſolum illiſque obtemperent, verum etiam ut tum verbis, tum ſubſidiis ſuis illos ſublevent atque ſuſtentent. Imprimis vero cavere debent ne bonum divini verbi ſemen per illos ſeminatum, incuria deſidiaque ſua ut in ſaxetum, ut ſolum ſterile ſparſum perire patiantur [d].

M. Servorum nunc quæ ſint officia declarato.

A. Servorum adverſus dominos officia in ſacris literis ſic deſcribuntur [e]. Servi, dominis veſtris terreſtribus in omnibus obedite, cum timore atque tremore, ſimpliciterque et ex animo, ut Chriſto ipſi obſequentes: non ſimulata ſedulitate oculis ſervientes, ut qui hominum benevolentiam captant; ſed ut ſervi Chriſti; quicquid vero feceritis, animo id æquo libentique facite, ut Dei potius quam hominum voluntati obtemperantes: certi a Deo vos eſſe hæreditatis præmio donandos, domino enim Chriſto ſervitis.

M. Tametſi (chariſſime fili) tibi per ætatem, parendi potius, quam imperandi præceptis adhuc ſit opus, tamen quum ad honeſtam honoratamque ſenectutem (Dei munere) vivere poſſis, ſicuti et victurum te ſpero, ignarum nollem, quemadmodum in eo vitæ ſtatu in quo divino beneficio fueris collocatus, te gerere conveniat. Quamobrem explicare te volo, quid ex altera parte, de parentum, dominorum, aut patrum familias, itemque de conjugum, officiis didiceris. Dic ergo primum de parentum in liberos officiis.

[c] 1 Tim. v. 17. [d] Matth. xiii. 5. [e] Col. iii. Eph. vi.

A. Parentum [f] erga liberos officium, ſicuti idem Apoſtolus S. Paulus docet, eſt, ut eos ab ipſis ſtatim incunabulis, ad timorem et diſciplinam Domini, ad verecundiam item, vitiorum odium, et amorem virtutis inſtituant, utque ipſi ſeſe liberis ſuis omnis pietatis atque ſanctitatis exemplaria præbeant. Ab otio vero et deſidia, ut malorum omnium matre, liberos ſuos arcere debent; curareque ut aut liberalibus diſciplinis, aut aliqua bonæ artis ſcientia erudiantur: ut cum adoleverint, ad victum neceſſaria honeſte juſteque poſſint acquirere.

M. Perge nunc ad Dominorum et Patrumfamilias officia.

A. A Dominis et Patribusfamilias, qui in locum parentum famulis et familiis ſuis pervenerunt, cavendum eſſe didici, ne famuli languori ſeſe deſidiæque dedant: curandumque tum inſtitutione diligenti, tum imprimis imitatione ſui, ut mores eorum ad honeſtatem, decorum, et virtutem formentur. Cum quibus vero pacti ſunt artibus eos, quas ipſi profitentur, erudire, non ſecus atque liberos ſuos, parentes conſueverunt, ſine ulla fraude, dilatione, aut ludificatione perdoceant. Quod ſi quando animadverſione opus fuerit, tam moderate, tam clementer, tantoque emendandi ſtudio, ut naturales parentes charos liberos ſolent, caſtigatione afficiant: hujus ſemper memores, eſſe et ſibi quoque in cœlo Dominum [g].

M. Maritorum jam officia erga uxores recenſe.

A. D. Petrus Apoſtolus, qui et ipſe maritus fuit,

[f] Eph. vi. Col. iii. [g] Eph. vi. 9. Col. iv. 1.

et D. item Paulus maritos, ſicuti ego accepi, inſtituunt, ut prudenter cum uxoribus, ſcienterque et abſque omni omnino acerbitate verſentur [h]: ut uxores non ſecus ac ſua ipſorum corpora diligant, tueantur, et foveant : imo maritos ſuas conjuges amare debere, perinde atque Chriſtus eccleſiam dilexit, qui ſemetipſum illi impendit, ut eam ſanctam efficeret.

M. Perge porro explicare quo modo uxores viciſſim ſeſe gerere debeant.

A. Eoſdem illos ſanctos Apoſtolos [i] uxores docere et commonefacere intellexi, ut maritos ſuos reverentur, illiſque haud ſecus quam Domino ipſi pareant et obtemperent, eſſetque maritus uxoris ſuæ caput, ut et Chriſtus eſt eccleſiæ caput : proinde, quemadmodum eccleſia ſive congregatio Chriſto eſt ſubjecta, ſic et uxores viris propriis in omnibus rebus, ita ut convenit, in Domino obſequentes eſſe oportet : ſicuti et Sara obedivit Abrahæ, eumque dominum appellavit. In ſacris vero literis uxores veſtitu ſe magnifico ſumptuoſoque exornare, vel intortos aut auro redimitos habere crines prohibentur [k]: ſed ut ad exemplum ſanctarum illarum matronarum, quæ in Deo ſpem collocarunt, externum quidem amictum mediocrem ſimplicemque induant, interno vero illo virtutum cultu animos excolant ; lenitate videlicet, manſuetudine, tranquillitate, caſtitate, quæ res ſunt in oculis Dei pretioſiſſimæ.

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[h] 1 Pet. iii. 7. Eph. v. 25. Col. iii. 19.

[i] Eph. v. 24. Col. iii. 18. 1 Pet. iii. 1.

[k] 1 Pet. iii. 3.

M. Quot in Eccleſia ſua Sacramenta inſtituit Dóminus?

A. Duo: Baptiſmum et Cænam Domini.

M. Quid eſt Sacramentum?

A. Eſt externum et aſpectabile ſignum, internam arcanamque ſpiritualem gratiam repræſentans, ab ipſo Chriſto inſtitutum, ad teſtificandum divinam erga nos per eundem Chriſtum Servatorem, benevolentiam atque beneficentiam: qua Dei promiſſiones de remiſſione peccatorum et æterna ſalute per Chriſtum data, quaſi conſignantur, et earum veritas in cordibus noſtris certius confirmatur.

M. Sacramentum quot partibus conſtat?

A. Duabus: ſigno externo atque ſpectabili: et interna inviſibilique gratia.

M. Quod eſt in Baptiſmo ſignum externum?

A. Aqua in quam baptizatus intingitur, vel ea aſpergitur, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus ſancti.

M. Quæ eſt arcana et ſpiritualis gratia?

A. Remiſſio peccatorum et regeneratio, quæ utraque habeamus a morte et reſurrectione Chriſti, eorum vero obſignationem atque pignus habeamus in hoc Sacramento.

M. Baptiſmi vim adhuc apertius mihi ediſſere.

A. Quum natura alieni ab Eccleſia Deique familia, et per peccatum filii iræ, dignique æterna damnatione ſimus, per Baptiſmum in Eccleſiam admittimur, certiores facti filios Dei jam nos eſſe, et in Chriſti corpus inſertos, ejuſque membra factos in unum cum ipſo corpus coaleſcere.

M. Quæ requiruntur ab iis, qui ad Baptiſmum accedunt?

A. Fides et pœnitentia.

M. Hæc planius explica.

A. Anteactæ impiæ vitæ vehementer primum pœnitere, et certam fiduciam habere debemus, nos Chriſti ſanguine a peccatis purgatos, atque ita Deo gratos eſſe, Spiritumque ejus in nobis habitare. Et ſecundum fidem et profeſſionem in Baptiſmo factam omni ope enitendum, ut carnem noſtram mortificemus, et pia vita declaremus nos Chriſtum induiſſe, et ejus Spiritu donatos eſſe.

M. Qui fit tum ut infantes baptizentur, qui hæc per ætatem hactenus præſtare non poſſunt?

A. Quia ad Eccleſiam Dei pertinent, et Dei benedictio promiſſioque eccleſiæ facta per Chriſtum, in cujus fide baptizantur, ad eos pertinent: quæ poſtquam adoleverint, ipſos intelligere, credere, atque cognoſcere oportet, enitique ut Chriſtiani hominis officium, quod in Baptiſmo polliciti ſunt atque profeſſi, moribus et vita præſtent.

M. Quæ eſt Cœnæ Dominicæ ratio?

A. Eadem nimirum, quam Chriſtus Dominus inſtituit[a]; qui ea qua traditus eſt nocte, accepit panem, [et] poſtquam gratias egiſſet, fregit, et dedit diſcipulis ſuis, dicens: Accipite, edite, hoc eſt corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur: hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ad eundem modum et calicem accepit (peracta cœna) et gratiis actis dedit eis, dicens: Bibite

[a] Matth. xxvi. Marc. xiv. Luc. xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

ex hoc omnes, hic enim eſt ſanguis meus novi teſtamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effunditur ad remiſſionem peccatorum; hoc facite, quotieſcunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem.

Hanc formam rationemque cœnæ Dominicæ tenere donec ipſe veniat, et inviolate ſervare, pieque atque religioſe celebrare oportet.

M. In quem uſum?

A. Ut mortis Domini ſummique beneficii illius, quo per eam affecti ſumus, gratam perpetuo memoriam celebremus et retineamus; et ſicuti in Baptiſmo renati ſumus, ita cœna Dominica ad vitam ſpiritualem atque ſempiternam jugiter alamur atque ſuſtentemur: ideoque ſemel Baptiſmo initiari, ut ſemel naſci, ſatis eſt; at cœnæ Dominicæ, perinde atque alimenti, uſus identidem eſt repetendus.

M. Quæ ſunt hujus Sacramenti partes atque materia?

A. Duplici materia, vel partibus duabus hoc Sacramentum, perinde atque Baptiſmus, conſtat; quarum una terrena eſt, atque ſub ſenſu cadens; altera cœleſtis eſt, quæ ſenſibus externis percipi non poteſt.

M. Quæ eſt hujus Sacramenti terrena et ſenſibilis pars?

A. Panis et vinum, quibus utriſque ut omnes uterentur, Dominus diſerte præcepit.

M. Cœleſtis illa pars et remota ab omnibus externis ſenſibus quænam eſt?

A. Corpus et ſanguis Chriſti, quæ in cœna Dominica fidelibus dantur, ab illiſque accipiuntur, eduntur et bibuntur, cœleſti tantum ſpiritualique modo:

revera tamen, adeo quidem, ut ſicuti panis corpora nutrit, ita et corpus Chriſti animas noſtras ſpiritualiter per fidem alit; et ſicut vino hominum corda exhilarantur, et roborantur vires; ita ſanguine Chriſti animæ noſtræ reficiuntur atque recreantur per fidem, qua ratione corpus et ſanguis Chriſti in cœna recipiuntur. Nam Chriſtus ſibi fidentes tam certo facit corporis atque ſanguinis ſui participes, quam certo ſe panem atque vinum ore et ventriculo recepiſſe ſciunt.

M. An ergo panis et vinum in ſubſtantiam corporis et ſanguinis Chriſti mutantur?

A. Minime; illud enim eſſet naturam ſacramenti (quod e materia cœleſti atque terrena conſtare oportet) extinguere.

M. An inſtituta fuit a Chriſto cœna, ut Deo patri ſacrificium pro peccatorum remiſſione offeratur?

A. Nequaquam. Eſt enim peccati atque illi debitæ damnationis onus tam grave, tam immenſum immaneque pondus, ut ſolus Dei filius Jeſus Chriſtus ſacrificium, quo nos ab illis liberaret, facere poſſet. Quum ergo Servator noſter Chriſtus ipſe in cruce ſe morti pro nobis obtulit, unicam illam perfectam ſempiternamque hoſtiam Deo patri gratiſſimam, ac peccati expiationem ſemel in perpetuum immolavit, ſceлerum noſtrorum maculas ſanguine ſuo eluens atque deluens ad noſtram æternam ſalutem. Nobis vero nihil reliqui fecit niſi ut fiduciam atque ſpem omnem firmiſſime in illo collocemus, ſempiternique illius ſacrificii uſum fructumque gratis animis capiamus, quod quidem in cœna Dominica maxime faciamus.

M. Noſtrum quod eſt officium ut recte ad cœnam Dominicam accedamus?

A. Ut nos ipſos exploremus, num vera ſimus Chriſti membra.

M. Quibus id notis deprehendemus?

A. Primum ſi ex animo nos pœniteat peccatorum noſtrorum; deinceps ſi certa ſpe de Dei per Chriſtum miſericordia nitamur, atque nos ſuſtineamus, cum grata redemptionis per mortem ejus acquiſitæ memoria; præterea ſi de vita in futurum pie degenda ſeriam cogitationem et deſtinatum propoſitum ſuſcipiamus; poſtremo cum conjunctionis etiam charitatiſque inter homines mutuæ ſymbolum in cœna Dominica contineatur, ſi proximos, id eſt, mortales omnes, fraterno amore, ſine ulla malevolentia odioque proſequimur.

NUM. X. See p. 304. 308.

Letter of Dean Nowell to Lord Burghley, concerning his own and his brother Robert's benefactions to Braſen Noſe College, from MS. Burghley lxxxii. N°. 48. *the whole in Nowell's hand, without ſignature, date, or ſuperſcription, but dated with a pencil on the back,* " 1596."

I beſeache y^r^ good Lordſhipp to take this as written at y^r^ L. commandment, and as by an exequutor, readie to gyve accompt vnto y^r^ L. beyng over-

ſeer of my brothers wylle, ſpecially uppon ſome complaynt mayde of me vnto y^r^ L., rather than as proceedyng of vanitie in boaſtyng of that, which ought with ſilence to be layd upp in the lappe of the poore, and in Goddes memorie only.

My brother *Robert*, late attorney of her Ma^ties^ courte of wardes, about vi houres before he dyed, ſaid vnto me: *Forget not Myddleton ſchole, and the college of Braſen-noſe, wher we were brought vpp in our youth: and yf yow wolde procure any thynge to continue, with my money, yow ſhall doe it beſte and moſte ſurely in the Quenes Ma^ties^ name, whoſe poore officer I have bene.* And vppon thes woords I was occaſioned to thinke of the fundation of *Middleton* ſchole, & of certen ſcholars to be choſen out of that ſchole into the college of *Braſen-noſe*, ther to be maynteyned with certen exhibition.

And fyrſte for three yers ſpace, before I obteyned the ſaide fundation I ſent yerely xx^li^ to the principall & fellowes of that college to be beſtowed vppon vi poore ſcholars.

And whan by y^r^ L. & S^r^ *Walter Myldmays* meanes I had obteyned the fundation of the ſchole, her Maieſtie moſt gratiouſly & bounteouſly gyvyng frely that xx^li^ yerely for ever, which I wold haue purchaſed of her Ma.^tie^ I was therby more inflamed to goe throgh with that, which I fyrſte intended. wherfore to that purpoſe I purchaſed in reverſion of the L. *Cheny* the manor of *Vppebury*, with the parſonage of *Gyllyngham* in the countie of

Kente, which is worth one hundreth marks or more yerely: for the which I payed my L. ix$^{c\,li}$. and x^{li}. with a purſe of xl^{s}. to my ladie for her conſent.

And for that my L. *Cheny* hath reſerved vnto hym ſelffe the rente, duryng hys lieffe, I prayed Mr. Auditor *Tooke*, who in conſideration of a leaſe of *Eſſyndon* in the countie of *Hertford*, was contented to pay me yerely xv^{li} for the ſpace of xvi years, to aſſure the ſame vnto the college of *Braſennoſe*, which I do yerely make vpp to the ſomme of xx^{li} to the uſe of vi poore ſcholars in the ſaide college, named in the fundation Quene *Elizabeths* ſcholars. And I payed to Mr. *Henrie Poole* of Dalby in Leiceſterſhyre who maide a title to the ſaide *Eſſyngdon* for hys intereſt cxx^{li}.

And for that the lower chambres of the college were dampeſhe and vnholſome beyng vnboorded, I cauſed the ſame throghly to be boorded, which coſte above xl^{li}.

The mortmaynes, fynes, licence of Alienation, fees, fyne & recouerie of *Uppbury* & *Gyllyngham*, wrytinge in ſette hand of the fundation, & twoe exemplifications vnder the great Seale: exemplifications of my L. Chenys evidence vnder the great Seale, with other wrytings coſte above one hundreth pounds, as I haue in particulars to ſhowe.

I haue dealte with my L. *Cheny* to purchaſe hys intereſt for terme of hys lieffe, that I might put the college in full poſſeſſion, as well of the rent as of the lands, which yf I coulde compaſſe, ther ſhuld be

xiii ſcholars founde in *Braſenoſe*; and the huſher of the ſchole hys wages ſhuld be mayde upp x^li, which is yet but vi^li viii^s IIII^d.

I had allſo buylded or now, a fayre ſcholehowſe with lodgyngs for the ſchole M^r and huſher, ſavyng that yonge M^r *Aſhton* Lorde of *Myddleton* beynge vnder age can make noe aſſurance of the grounde, wheruppon to buylde the ſame. I wyll beſtow, or leave to that vſe with the college vppon bonde, yf I dye before, two hundreth marks at the leaſte.

And for that my ſaide brother not longe before hys death, delyuerynge me hys key of the cheſte, wheare hys other keyes were, and hys rynge alſo, prayed me not to deceyve hym, but that the poore ſhuld haue all hys goods, hys debts, legacies, and funeralls beyng fyrſte diſcharged: for that he maide y^r good L. overſeer, I think I am occaſioned herby ſummarily to ſhowe how the reſte of hys goods were beſtowed. And I dare to aduouche to ſhowe y^r L. in particulars, with the names of perſons."

A ſentence or two of another Letter to Lord Burghley, March 18, 1594-5 (MS. lxxviii. No. 18.) may be quoted, as ſhewing partly the importance of the benefaction, and partly the earneſtneſs of the good Dean in the buſineſs.

"At ſome yo^r leyſure, my good Lord, I beſeache you, vouchſafe to reade thys [b].

"My humble duty to y^r honorable Lordſhip remembered: Might it pleaſe the ſame favourably to

[b] This and the ſignature in his own hand, the letter itſelf not.

hear mine and my brother Roberts ſometime Attorney in the Court of Wardes his humble ſuite in his laſt will and teſtament, by the wordes written in this ſchedule incloſed, who ſpecially charged me upon his death bed to procure the foundation of Myddleton Schole in the county of Lancaſter, whear we, & other o^{r} brethren were taught in o^{r} childhoode, & the ſaid School to be annexed vnto Braſennoſe College in Oxf^{d} where we were poor ſtudents, in the time of our youthe."

Then follows an account of the foundation and endowment of the School, "by your Lordſhips & Sir Walter Mildmays commendation of my humble ſuit" to her Majeſty, and of the diſpute with Sir Edward Hoby (as mentioned, p. 308. n.) who had "holden" the eſtates "by coler of a Leaſe made by the L. Cheyney, now by the ſpace of five years, & more—whereby the college was inforced laſtly to ſeek their remedy by the law, and did bring an action againſt him—for part of the ſaid arrearages to the value of v^{c} ^{li}.—By means of all which long ſuits & delays continuing now five years & more, the ſaid college is greatly impoveriſhed, and her Ma^{ties} xiii^{ten} poore ſcholers are ſhortly to forſake the univerſity, & her Highneſs free ſchool, ſo lately by her graciouſly founded, is in danger to be diſſolved; vnleſs it might pleaſe y^{r} honorable L. by y^{r} authority (which the ſ^{d} S^{r} Edward doth moſt reverence) to bring him to ſome reaſon: unto the which if he did know that y^{r} good L. did miſlike of his ſuch dealings, he would, we truſt, be brought: whereby three

hundreth poor ſcholars & ſtudents ſhall be bounden continually to pray for y^r^ good L. unto Allmighty God, who have the ſame, and all y^rs^ always in his moſt bleſſed keeping and protection.

Martii 1594

y^r^ honorable Lordſhipps

humble at commandm^t^.

Alexander Nowell."

Superſcribed,

"To the right honorable, my verie good Lord, the L. highe Treſaur^r^ of England."

In MS. Burghley lxxv. No. 14. is another Letter to L. Burghley in which he ſays, he had "alſo been bolde to wryte to his verie good Lorde, the Lorde Admirall," that their LL. would pleaſe to appoint ſome time for hearing and ending this controverſy. And ib. No. 10. is an Order of the Queen's Commiſſioners on parchment for payment of arrears, but without ſignatures, as the order, I preſume, never took effect. Laſtly, ib. No. 15. a ſhort note to his "woorſhypful lovynge frende Mr. Hickes Eſquier, Secretarie" to the L. Treaſurer, to learn whether Sir Edward had made any anſwer in writing, & intreating to have it. "23°. Aprilis 1593. I have been bolde to ſend yow the Image of o^r^ late yonge kynge, the Joſias of Englande, for a poore tooken, Y^r^ aſſured in Chriſte

See p. 309. Alexander Nowell.

NUM. XI. See p. 309. 327. note.

Letter of Dean Nowell, July 7, 1590, to Mr. Egerton, Solicitor General, afterwards Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, from the original in the Library of the Moſt Noble, the Marquis of Stafford.

Right woorſhyppfull, I am verie hartely to pray yow to be of my counſell in a matier, the effecte wherof is conteyned in the articles incloſed. For I doe feare that the couetouſnes of a tenant in pluckynge downe a buyldynge for hys gayne, will toorne me to greate looſſe: by whoſe offence, I woote not howe muche may be demanded of myn exequutors for delapidations. Alſo wheras Mr. Kempe, one of my Lorde Chancellors gent. became bounden vnto me for my Lorde byſhoppe of London in iii^{cli}. w^{ch} bonde I thynke is forfeyted by my ſaid L. byſhoppes defalte, myght it pleaſe yo^{r} woorſhyppe allſo to be of counſell wth me agaynſt my ſaid L. Byſhoppe, who hath ſundrie wayes iniured me, rather then agaynſt Mr. Kempe, whom my L. ought to ſaue harmeleſſe: I ſhall be much bounden vnto yo^{r} woorſhyppe, vnto whom I am bolde to ſend a poore tooken for the antiquitie rather then for the value of the ſame. And ſoe ceaſynge further to troble yo^{r} woorſhyppe, I commende the ſame vnto the moſte protection of allmightie Godde. 7. Julii 1590.

Yo^{r} woorſhypps to my
little habilitie
Alexander Nowell.

Indorſed (in Nowell's hand) To the right woorſhyppfull M^r. Thomas Egerton Eſquire, principall Sollicitar to the Queenes Ma^tie. my ſpeciall good frende.

(In M^r. Egerton's hand) for M^r. Deane of Powles. Caſus.

NUM. XII. See p. 329.

Biſhop Bedell's Ode on the death of Profeſſor Whitaker of Cambridge, printed, with various other verſes on the occaſion, at the end of Whitaker's Prælections, Camb. 1599. 4to. p. 77.

Eheu! quis capiti, quiſnam oculis dabit
Fontem, qui lachrymis perpetuo fluat,
Condignoſque dolori
Luctus ſufficiat meo?
Sic te perpetuus (me miſerum!) ſopor
Whitakere tenet, nec pietas diem,
Nec virtus tua, quicquam
Supremum tibi diſtulit?
Ergo mœſta manus Calliope dedit,
Et vinci erubuit? Sic Lacheſis furit?
Indignumque, ſorores
Tres ter plus poterint tribus?

Quis noſtras acies ordinet, hoſtibus
Poſthac oppoſitas, aut erit impiger,
Qui Bellum, arma, minaſque
Solus ſuſtineat ſimul?
Quem non Tartareæ colla virum feræ,
Munita innumeris anguibus, et genæ
Lucentes, neque rictus
Oris concutiat triplex?
Experta at ſemel hæc tota cohorruit,
Quam tu certa manu ſpicula dirigis,
Whitakere triumphum
Juſtum debuerat tibi;
Mors infeſta ſimul vidit, et exitum
Belli pertimuit, nec mora, perfido
Auſu terga tibi alto
Telo perfodit inſcia.
Et jam colla minax beſtia multiceps
Vibrat, jam ſolitas intrepido vomit
Iras ore, nec ullum
Hoſtem, qui ſupereſt, timet.
At Tu, qui ſolio ſydereo inſides,
Præſens aut hominum ſtulta ferocium,
Fruſtra dum tibi bellum
Miſcent, agmina fundere,
Aut frænum domino Tartareæ ſpecus
(Quamvis ille fremat) ponere cum libet,
Et qui vincere belli
Dextras inſtituis rudes;
Imbelles ácies, quas tibi perfidi
Hoſtes diſpoſitas ordine collocant
Ut ventus foliorum

Agmen, præcipites age.
Da vires, animos, arma, duces, Pater,
Succeſſumque tuis: ocyus improbus,
In te qui furit, ille
A vultu pereat tuo!

Guil. Bedell, Eman.

We ſubjoin here the verſes inſcribed on Mrs. Frankland's picture in Braſen Noſe College. See p. 345.

" Trapſi nata fui, Saxy ſponſata marito,
Guilelmo mater viſa beata meo.
Mors matura patrem, ſors abſtulit atra maritum,
Filius heu rapida morte peremptus obit.
Parca quid inſultas? quaſi nunc effeceris orbam?
En ego multiplici prole beata magis.
Me namque agnoſcit ſtudiis Domus Ænea matrem,
Prole ſua ſemper nobilitata domus;
Digna domus meritis, et læta et grata patronæ:
Sola mea eſt ſoli laus placuiſſe Deo.

Anno Dom. 1586, ætat. 55."

In one of the windows of the Hall were formerly theſe arms for Frankland: Argent, on a bend cotiſed, Azure, three Eagles diſplayed of the firſt. The motto, " *Virtuti fortuna cedit*."

Impaling, for Trapps, Quarterly, firſt and fourth, Argent, three Caltraps, ſable. Second and third, Azure, a chevron between 3 croſſes patee, Or. The motto, " *Suffer and ſerve*." Which impalement was encompaſſed about with this inſcription: " *Vende quod habes, et da pauperibus*." Wood's Colleges, p. 368.

NUM. XIII. See p. 331. 351. n.

Letter by Dean Nowell in behalf of the Widow and orphan children of Profeſſor Whitaker, from the original in Burghley MS. lxxx. No. 61. *ſuperſcribed, "To the right honorable, my verie good Lord, the L: high Treſaurr of England." The ſignature, but not the body of the letter, in the Dean's hand.* See plate of Fac-ſimiles, p. 352.

My humble dutie to yr right honorable Lordſhipp remembered: may it pleaſe the ſame to be adver-tiſed, that whereas the deathe of Dr. Whytaker in the aſſured faithe and hope of Godds mercies by Chriſt, was to hym, I doubt not moſt bleſſed; yet was it to the great publicke lacke of Chriſts Church, and of that Univerſitie, and ſpecially of the college of St. Johns in Cambrige, and particularly to my great griefe, he being my neare Kinſman, and deare frend whyle he lyved. But his death was above all, to the extreme ſorrowe, loſſe, and lacke of his poore wiffe, lyinge in travell of chyld, when her huſband dyed, and thereby, and with inward ſorrowe of hart, not vnlyke to dye herſelfe, and now is verie hardly recovered to a weake healthe; and to manie great difficulties, by the vtter deſtitution and deſolation of herſelfe, and of a great multitude of their yonge and helpleſſe children. ffor he being wholly given vnto his ſtudie, and to contynuall reading of her Maties

divinitie lecture, and to inceſſant wryting agaynſt the adverſaries of trewe religion, had never any leyſure, or care, for the providing of more, then was neceſſarie for verie meane, and ſcholerlyke dyet, and clothing; as being in the ſhaddowe of the Vniverſitie, and far from the light, and frendly aſpect of the Court. wherby he hath left to his poore wife, and children for their mayntenance, being manie, and verie yonge, the onely riches of his books, moſt dearly bought by hym, and little worthe to be ſold agayne, for the buying of neceſſaries, to the mayntenance of lyfe. Of the which deſolation, and deſtitution of the ſorrowfull wyddowe and great multitude of the yonge, poore, and helpleſſe children, her Ma^tie having intelligence, being of her own gratious goodneſs mercifully inclined to relyve their miſerie, hath alſo been effectuoſly moved to the ſame, by the right honorable the Earle of Eſſex, who hearing D. Whytaker's good & godly inſtruction in Cambrige in the tyme of his youth, was his honorable and verie good Lord all his lyfe tyme, & doth ſtill contynue his pittifull compaſſion towards his poore wyddowe, & children in their moſt humble & pitifull ſuit to y^r good L., that it might pleaſe yow to procure ſome ſuche reliefe, as may be beneficiall to them, & leaſt chargable to her gratious Ma^tie, as ſome little Leaſe, or otherwiſe, as to y^r wiſdome may ſeeme moſt convenient. Wherby y^e ſorrowfull & deſolate wyddowe, & poore children ſhalbe moſt bound contynually & moſt hartely to praye for y^r good L: & all y^rs vntoalmightie Godd, who haue the ſame alwayes in his

moſt bleſſed keepeing & protection. 12° Januarii 1595.

Y^r^ honorable Lordſhipps
humble at commandement,
Alexander Nowell.

It is ſaid (Strype's Whitg. p. 479.) the Queen intended to purchaſe Dr. Whitaker's Library of books, in conſequence perhaps of this affecting Letter; but I have not learnt whether any thing was actually done.

NUM. XIV. See p. 351.

The Will of Alexander Nowell, extracted from the Regiſtry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Montagu xi.

In the name of God Amen. I Alexander Nowell Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London being in competent health of body of quiet mind and of good memory and underſtanding I do hereby thank God therefore do make my laſt will and teſtament as hereafter followeth. Firſt I do betake and give myſelf wholly both body and ſoul into the hands of Almighty God truſting by his only mercies in Chriſt Jeſus his dear Son my Saviour to have remiſſion and pardon of all my ſins and to enjoy life everlaſting. And when it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God to call me out of this life unto his mercy I will that in the church or church yard in the place or pariſh where it ſhall pleaſe God to ap-

point me to die my body to be buried there to reſt in hope of reſurrection to life everlaſting at that day when Chriſt ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. And if it ſhall happen that I do die in London and my body to be buried in Pauls church or church yard I will that as many of my brethren the reſidentiaries of our church as ſhall be preſent at my funeral and alſo he who ſhall preach my funeral ſermon ſhall have every of them a gown of cloth of ſixteen or ſeventeen ſhillings price the yard and that every prebendary or greater canon of our church being preſent at my funeral ſhall have thirteen ſhillings and four pence every petty canon being preſent ſix ſhillings eight pence every vicar choral preſent five ſhillings every verger preſent four ſhillings every bellringer preſent three ſhillings four pence every choriſter preſent two ſhillings ſix pence apiece upon condition that the ſaid petty canons vicars choral vergers bellringers and choriſters will accept the ſaid ſeveral ſums for all duties without any further demand or elſe not. Item I will that at the time of my burial if that ſhall happen to be in London fifty poor men ſhall have every of them a gown of cloth of the price of twenty ſhillings every gown of any colour ſaving black for that it is leaſt durable. This above concerning my funeral I will to be done if my body be buried in Pauls church or church yard or elſe not. I give towards the reparations of the upper part of Pauls church which is above the great ſtairs or ſteps of ſtone twenty pounds. I give thirteen pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence to be di-

vided among the poor of the parifhes of great and little Hadham in the county of Hertford at the difcretion of mine executrix and if it fhall happen my body to be buried in any other church or church yard than at Pauls then I do give forty fhillings to the reparation of that church and chancel where my body fhall be buried and five marks in money to be given to the poor of that parifh at the difcretion of mine executrix. Item I give to Chrift's Hofpital in London ten pounds. I do give to every of my men fervants that fhall be in my fervice at the time of my death a coat of the price of thirteen fhillings four pence and forty fhillings in money to every of them (except William Townley) for unto him I do give ten pounds in money. The maid fervants I leave to the difcretion of my executrix. And for that I have in my life dealt friendly and liberally for my poor ability with my former Wifes children and with my poor kinfmen fpecially fuch as gave themfelves to learning they may not nowe (that I am by fundry late great charges and by giving over my parfonage of Hadham much impoverifhed) look for any legacies. To my good friend Mr. Thomas Bowyer of the Middle Temple Efquire I do give five pounds to make him a ring for a poor remembrance of me and do alfo give unto him ten of my books which he fhall chooſe faving thofe which I fhall expreſsly by name give otherwife. I do give to the library of *Brafen Nofe college* in Oxford the thirteen Centuries of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory begun at Magdeburge and the great Greek Lexicon

of Henry Stephanus in three volumes ſtrongly bound and armed and all the Hiſtory of Martyrs written by Mr. John Fox in two volumes of the beſt paper and fair bound. I do give to my couſin Mr. Doctor Whitaker of Cambridge twenty of my books which he will chooſe. And for the painful and faithful ſervice which Elizabeth Nowell my wife hath theſe many years in my extreme age and great and many ſickneſſes and continual weakneſs done unto me and for that I have ſpent of her goods and rents more than all that I have is worth I give unto her in token of the love that I have continually borne and do bear unto her all the reſt of my goods cattels chattels leaſes money plate jewels houſehold ſtuff and implements of houſehold debts and all other my goods moveable and unmoveable of whatſoever kind ſort or condition whatſoever they be. And I do hereby make the ſaid Elizabeth my wife my ſole and only executrix of this my laſt will and teſtament concerning all mine own goods whatſoever they be. In witneſs whereof I have written the ſame and ſubſcribed and ſet my ſeal thereunto with mine own hand the eighth day of January and in the three and thirtieth year of the reign of our gracious Sovereign Queen Elizabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen &c. And in the year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and ninety ſecundum computationem ecclie Anglicane by me Alexander Nowell. In the preſence of us John Mullins Edward Maxey Lan-

cellot Andrews Thomas White. By me Thomas Hulme William Coton Thomas Bowyer.

In the ſecond Codicil is as follows :

Imprimis to his couſin Mr. Doctor Hammond and his wife five pounds. Item to every one of their children twenty ſhillings. Item to his couſin Mr. Robert Pennington the father ten pounds. Item to the ſame Mr. Robert Pennington to redeem Mr. Thomas Nowell couſin to the ſaid defunct out of priſon ten pounds. Item to William Townley his ſervant twenty pounds. Item to his ſervant John Huggins beſides that legacy bequeathed in his former will three pounds. Item to his ſervant Joyce Smyth fifty three ſhillings four pence. Item to Elizabeth Talbott forty ſhillings. Item to Elizabeth Thornton forty ſhillings. Item to his couſins Mr. Harriſon and his wife ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings fourpence. Item to every one of their children twenty ſhillings. Item to Edmond Giles forty ſhillings. Item to his ſervant Alexander Bradſhaw five marks if it do exceed the legacy bequeathed unto him in the former will. Item to Robert Pennington ſon of the aforeſaid Robert Pennington the father four marks. Item to his ſervant Thomas Houlden five marks. Item to Claiton ſervant to Mr. Claton the apothecary forty ſhillings. Item to his ſervant Thomas Crafton four marks. in the preſence of Edward Blount Robert Pennington the father William Townley with others.

NUM. XV. See p. 383.

Cardinal Wolsey's Dispensation, for the marriage of Charles Towneley, Esquire, and Elizabeth Nowell (Dean Nowell's mother) dated Dec. 20, 1525. *Copied from the Towneley papers, by the Rev. T. D. Whitaker, LL. D.*

Thomas miseratione divina titulo sanctæ Ceciliæ SS. Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalis, Ebor. Episcopus, Angliæ Primas et Cancellarius, ac apostolicæ sedis etiam de Latere Legatus: dilectis nobis in Christo Carolo Towneley et Elizabethæ Nowell Covent. et Litchf. Dioc. salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

Sedis apostolicæ providentia circumspecte nonnunquam juris rigorem sua mansuetudine temperat, et quod sacrorum canonum prohibetur justitia de gratiæ suæ benignitate indulget. Cum itaque a felicis recordationis domino Leone hujus nominis nuper Papa X°. per[c] suas sub plumbo a sanctissimo patre et domino nostro domino Clemente divina providentia hujus nominis Papa vii°. moderno [ ] etiam sub plumbo literas roborantes et confirmantes, inter cæteras facultates nobis sit concessum ut cum quibusvis personis infra nostram legationem de Latere residentibus, qui secundo et

[b] I have inserted "per," thinking, with Dr. Whitaker, it is perhaps wanting here. There are certainly some inaccuracies in the Towneley copy, which my friend transcribed; but the sense is pretty clear, that Clement VII. modernus Papa, or the reigning Pope, confirmed what his predecessor, Leo X. had granted.

tertio, ſeu tertio et tertio, aut quarto et quarto mixtim conſanguinitatis et adfinitatis gradibus conjuncti matrimonium inter ſe contrahere deſiderarent, ut impedimento hujuſmodi non obſtante invicem matrimonium contrahere et in eo poſtmodum remanere valeant diſpenſare poterimus. Poſtmodum vero pro parte veſtra nobis fuerit expoſitum quod ex certis rationabilibus cauſis animos veſtros moventibus deſideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari, ſcilicet quod ſecundo et tertio adfinitatis gradu conjuncti eſtis, veſtrum in hac parte deſiderium adimplere non potentes canonica diſpenſatione deſuper non obtenta; quare nobis humiliter ſupplicari feciſtis ut ſuper hoc de opportuno diſpenſationis remedio providere dignaremur; nos igitur vobis in hac parte ſupplicantibus inclinati vobiſcum per hæc ſcripta ut impedimento quod ex hujuſmodi adfinitate provenerit neque obſtante invicem matrimonium contrahere et in eo poſtquam contractum fuerit libere et licite remanere poſſitis; dum dicta Elizabetha propter hoc rapta non fuerit et aliud cononicum non obſit, miſericorditer diſpenſamus, prolem exinde ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernentes.

In quorum omnium præmiſſorum fidem et teſtimonium præſentes literas noſtras fieri fecimus et figilli noſtri applicatione juſſimus communiri. Dat. in ædibus noſtris prope Weſtmonaſt. xx die menſis Dec. A. D. 1525.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 9. l. ult. An addition has been ſuggeſted: "And it was perhaps for this reaſon, that, in his Deſcription of Britain, he notices Read as the habitation of Mr. Nowell, which is not uſual with him: "This brooke riſeth above Holme Church, goeth by Towneley and Burnley—bye and bye—meeteth with the Calder;" and "being thus enlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where Mr. Nowell dwelleth, to Whalley, and ſoon after to Ribble." p. 66. John Savile, one of Camden's correſpondents, in 1589, ſpeaking of the Lancaſhire Calder, ſays, "the ſame goeth by Burneley, padiam altam, and not far from Read, where the Dean of Pauls was born." Camd. Epp. Lond. 1691. p. 39.

P. 22. n. l. 6. The conjecture has ſince been confirmed; for Dr. Whitaker ſays, "I have ſeen a Pomander chain many years ago. The perfume, or whatever elſe it was, had been incloſed in a ſilver caſe, ſhaped like a large pear, and full of holes for the ſcent to eſcape. The original ſhape was probably that of an apple."

P. 32. n. l. 2. "p. 29." read "30."

P. 46. n.[s]. l. 5. "Horningſhire," I am informed, ſhould be "Horningſie," commonly ſhortened into "Hornſey," a ſmall peculiar near Cambridge, belonging to St. John's college.

P. 80. n. l. 3. for "Eſſex" read "Colcheſter."

P. 100. l. 21. read "ſix."

P. 140. l. 7. for "brother in law," read "nephew."

l. 13. read "Maltravers."

l. 20. read "is adviſed to "beſtow himſelf in."

P. 193. By ſome inadvertence in compiling this ſection, no uſe was made of two paſſages reſpecting Nowell's Catechiſm, which occur in a very ſcarce tract, by an Author, who is juſtly praiſed by Philips for "his endleſs ſtore of univerſal knowledge." I therefore adduce them here without further apology,

deeming them valuable for more reaſons than one: "Now ſuppoſing he [Abraham Woodhead] deſigns to combat the Church of England, I would gladly know to what purpoſe he alleges Calvin and Beza? for let their doctrine be what it will, to quote it to us who are not to be concluded by their authority, is very trifling and impertinent. When the ſenſe of the Church of England was the queſtion, one would have expected to hear what the Church Catechiſm ſays? What the Homilies? What *Nowell's Catechiſm?* Books allowed and publiſhed by the Churches authority, and authentick witneſſes of her judgement." Dean Aldrich's "Reply to two Diſcourſes concerning Adoration in the H. Euchariſt," Oxford, 1687. 4to. p. 11. "The Church of England has wiſely forborn to uſe the term of *Reall Preſence* in all the books that are ſet forth by her authority. We neither find it recommended in the Liturgy, nor the Articles, nor the Homilies, nor the Churches, nor *Nowell's Catechiſm*. For although it be once in the Liturgy, and once more in the Articles, it is mentioned in both places as a phraſe of the Papiſts, and rejected for their abuſe of it." ib. p. 15.

I have ſeen what Mr. Beloe in the third vol. of his Anecdotes, p. 22—26, ſays of Edward VIth's Catechiſm, which he thinks was written by Nowell. The Reader will judge as he ſees fit. The miſtakes on many other points in that article it is not neceſſary to mention.

P. 237. n. ˣ. Other Collectanea of Laurence Nowell, among the Cotton MSS. ſhould have been mentioned; namely, Vitellius, E. v. 15, 34. and Veſpaſian, A. v. 2.

P. 325. l. 17. "ſecond." read, "third."

P. 331. n. l. 4. read, "below."

P. 334. In the view of Holme the tree peering over the middle of the houſe is a large yew, which is regarded as the natalitial tree of the Cambridge Profeſſor; having by tradition and by nice inſpection of the concentric circles where a vaſt branch was broken off ſome years ago, been traced with great probability to the year of his birth, 1547.

The arms are, firſt (on the right) the ſhield of Mr. Richard

Nowell, the kind Donor of the plate, impaling Coham of Coham in Devonſhire, Mrs. Nowell's father, the Archdeacon of Wilts, being owner of the paternal eſtate there. The other is Dr. Whitaker's ſhield, impaling Thoreſby, Mrs. Whitaker being a deſcendant of that ancient family, from an uncle of Ralph Thoreſby, the antiquary of Leeds.

P. 359. l. 19. " Lincoln." read, " Magdalen."

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